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ABSTRACT

Ten papers address topics in career education for students with behavior disorders. W. Morse points out "Problems and Promises," including problems with the definition and scope of career education and the needs for individualization and support systems. C. Kokaska and L. Cook in "Concepts and Definitions" offer insight on problems in defining behavior disorders with the absence of operational criteria. In a final paper, "Perspectives on Chronically Disruptive Students" in the first section, F. Wood and T. Kayser note the complex causation, and suggest components of effective educational planning. Five papers describe career education approaches to students with behavior disorders: "Considerations in Elementary Level Programming" (P. Sitlington and G. Clark); "Self Awareness and Career Exploration at the Junior High Level" (K. McCoy and R. Fritsch); "A High School Model for the Behaviorally Disordered: Focus on Career Education" (M. Fender and G. Wolff); "Project PISCES: An Experiential Approach" (T. Simek); and "Parental Involvement in Career Education" (S. Vasa). Two papers address career programming in special settings: "Career Education in Institutional Settings" (D. Knapczyk, R. Dever, J. Scibak); and "Career Education from a Community Perspective" (F. Menolascino, J. McGee, D. Eyde). (CL)

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CAREER EDUCATION FOR BEHAVIORALLY DISORDERED STUDENTS

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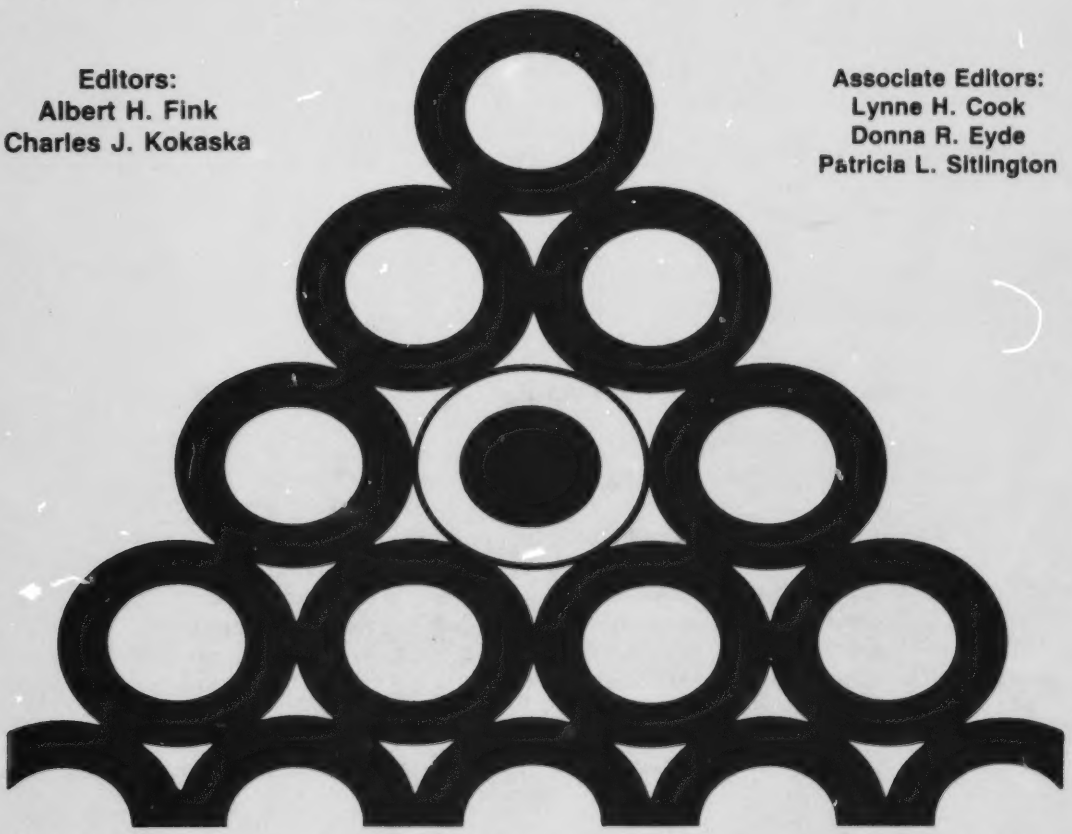

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Section I: Issues In Career Education and Behavior Disorders

PROBLEMS AND PROMISES

William C. Morse

Interventions for behaviorally disordered students have gone full cycle. Early on, short of just kicking them out, schools tried to pawn them off on the nonacademic areas to be "cured" by vocational education programs. It never worked well, but it kept the college-bound track cleaner until the misfits eventually dropped out.

There was also a time when troubled children and youth were to be "cured" by individual psychotherapy before being pronounced ready to participate in any regular educational experience. Special education was invented as a replacement. This provided no easy answer, either, and we proceeded to discover curative waters in the educational mainstream.

Now, from a career education perspective, we are saying that the real solution lies not in the typical school mainstream but in the lifestream. It is interesting to recall that the early studies of gang life, as idealized in West Side Story, found that the delinquent life is abandoned if and when one becomes absorbed in the world of work. But the work world also offers opportunities for delinquent or neurotic responses, just as does the school environment. We must therefore examine the role of career education and how it can serve behaviorally disordered students so that we do not simply add another mirage to the list of cures.

AVOIDING THE PITFALLS

The purpose of this examination is not to bad-mouth career education for the behaviorally disordered; rather, it is only to be sober about this newly activated resource. Can we for once not expect the impossible or misuse a helpful process as we have often done in the past? In special education we seem always ready to embrace a new technology without examining the complications. We would like to avoid the problems posed by intrapsychic and ecological intricacies.

We start with the obvious: our topic is career education for the behaviorally disordered. This means career education for students who have serious problems which are still actively manifested. Otherwise they would be remediated, and their career education needs would be identical to those of all other students. Whether mainstreamed or not, the students of whom we speak are one category of special pupils, still practicing their personal deviate skills which continue to vex the system. What we are exploring in this monograph is the particular resource latent in career education for these difficult youngsters.

MERGING TWO ENIGMAS

Frankly, the concept of career education is really not all that new. What is new is the surge of concern and the national emphasis. What is new is the effort to meld the skills and knowledge of those with career education expertise and those with expertise in the behavioral disorders.

Mutual acceptance has been minimal in the past. Special educators have characteristically focused on academic skills as if this were all of life. On the other side, career-oriented programs have for a long time resented being the dumping ground for school misfits. Hence the special significance of this monograph. As we learn to work together, however, we must not delude ourselves concerning the very hard task ahead if we are to convert this affair into a lasting union. A number of significant issues need to be explored. The future depends on how we deal with them.

Definitional Difficulties

This monograph joins two ambiguous entities--behavioral disorders and career education. There are definitional problems with both, and nothing is made simpler by their proposed merger. Of all the fields of special education, behavioral disorders is fraught with the most confusion. There is little agreement on diagnosis; we don't know for sure who "has it." We do know that special education tries, with only partial success, to weed out by definition those who are delinquent and socially malfunctioning, unless one can prove that there is also an emotional problem operative. If we succeed, we will have eliminated responsibility for some of the hard-to-reach, the *400 Losers*, so to speak (Ahlstrom & Havighurst, 1971). At the same time, if we confine our efforts to our allotted 1% to 2% of the very seriously disturbed, these are hardly winners either. Except for a few with compulsive disorders, most students who are classified as severely neurotic, autistic, or schizophrenic are high risk. Rescue through careers (note that the word is not *jobs*) bodes for an exciting future.

And then there is career education. Chapters in this monograph dealing with career education are certainly direct and to the point. Most special educators know so little about it that there is much information to acquire, almost back to the ABC's. We learn that to some it is a school program. To others it is all things woven into a matrix, infused by career goals as the core. Raising self-concept and self-esteem is one significant focus.

When the current emphasis on career education first started a few years back, career education was designed to take over all of education. My own first experience came when I was introduced to career education for preschoolers. It was explained that a visit to the fire station was no longer devoted to sitting on the engine and pretending to go to a fire. Nothing like that. There were to be *career discussions* with the firefighters. What do you like and dislike about being a firefighter? How does your family like your being a firefighter? We are a pragmatic people and the time is now. Never too soon to start. Parents want their offspring to be prepared for work. When the young ones got back to the classroom they were to incorporate these ideas in their thoughts about their future roles.

Such flights of omnipotence aside, career concerns are significant to parents and many special pupils. Parents of special kids worry a great deal about careers and their children. Who will take care of him when I'm gone if he can't hold a job? Some even advocate altering the child labor laws to provide early job opportunities. Certainly the prospect of planning for the future with a career offers a ray of hope in our rather desperate time. In fact, individuals have little control over their futures unless they can find and maintain employment. An accepted and realistic career goal can help organize anyone's life and give it direction. A job expands one's freedom.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

The popular notion that career information should infuse the total curriculum is easier said than accomplished. Social studies can focus on careers. Compositions can be written on career topics. If career development is to be the core around which traditional subjects are woven, it will take more than a set of pamphlets on careers. The coordination required to convert traditional academic skill learning to integrated career skills learning is no less than a curricular revolution.

Brolin and Kokaska (1979) made the most encompassing statement of this education revolution (or dream) when they said: "Career education is the process of systematically coordinating all school, family, and community components together to facilitate each individual's potential for economic, social, and personal fulfillment" (p. 102). These authors quote the even more extended expectations of the CEC position paper on career education, which starts with the development of self-concept and self-esteem.

Anyone who has worked with disturbed youth to improve their self-esteem knows that career education sometimes may be the key and sometimes a remote exercise. Too much of the experience of career education seems better suited to the placid retarded than to the behaviorally disordered.

What To Do With What We've Got

What is our frame of reference? Are we thinking of career education programs for behaviorally disordered students, or are we thinking of the

range of specific careers necessary to help individual students? There is also real danger in making careers central to education. As some wag once pointed out, once education gets hold of a topic, it become ritualized. Even an exciting area with high potential is in great danger of being "educationalized" into dull and perfunctory exercises. Such formalization can even make sex education dull.

The fact is, certain career resources have been around for some time, but access is difficult for special educators. It is a truism of secondary special educators that a large high school already has many, many resources of potential value to adolescent special youth. The problem is how to gain access to them and use them in ways which suit the needs of the exceptional student. If we are talking about special pupils, we are also talking about adjusted career education. For sure, opportunities are there, but when doors are pried open there is often little adjustment to the special needs student. A valuable channel for assistance becomes yet another cul de sac unless it is modified.

The Need for Individualization

If the new career emphasis is going to pay the dividends we seek, it must be highly individualized in terms of method, sequence, and substance. Atypical youth cannot be expected to meet the performance expectations teachers have of normal pupils. Nice logical sequences seldom fit. The same "I can do it already" deception practiced in the academic realms is to be expected. The same impatience, the same unrealistic expectations, the same projections at times of failure are going to be present here as elsewhere in education. The same behavior problems will occur.

If the individualized education program states merely that "career education" is to be provided, little will be gained. Specific steps must be enumerated, and the ways to go about them must be worked out and shared with the pupil. One can expect some iconoclastic designs. In some cases, finding an appropriate fit between the disorder and the "career line" will be more like solving a detective story than making an arbitrary assignment. Since career planning reaches directly to the world outside of school, those fixated on the goal of mainstreaming rather than life planning will find themselves in unfamiliar territory.

Although there are some students for whom career education will almost automatically crystallize a set of desirable forces and provide exactly what is needed for a rescue intervention, these will be rare. Such ecological ameliorations do happen, however. The contrast and relief to the student provided by preparation for the real world in contrast to doing academic school tasks is often a most helpful change. In those instances where job learning placements also pay a wage, there is an inducement present which we all find motivating. Nevertheless, as in all special education, so much depends on the teacher's understanding and ability to respond properly to disturbed youngsters.

A sequence of careers must be developed for behaviorally disordered youth. Some will be able to function only in a most protected environment, which is, of course, just as important an achievement for them as more typical work participation. Others will be able to perform very well in the right slot and with adequate on-the-job support. Then there will be those with normal or even special abilities, such as the known mathematical or artistic talents of certain schizophrenics. Will we keep before us the total spectrum of career lines?

FACING REALITY

The prognosis of career education for behaviorally disordered students ranges from limited success to total life stabilization. Let us not forget that the rubric *behaviorally disordered* covers a wide range of behaviors. There are many who will go through life with significant limitations. The career path may lead to law school or to a sheltered workshop.

The career education program developed by the Hawthorne Center, a child residential and day care center in Northville, Michigan, demonstrates how divergent are the facets of career opportunity for the seriously disturbed. Some work in the greenhouse, some in food preparation, some on cooperative jobs. For some schizophrenic adolescents, work therapy experience in a sheltered workshop means being part of a working unit and being needed as well as earning money. Others, seriously disturbed, are transfixed by the sparks which shower from a grinding wheel. Those who are neurotic do not lose their neuroses: the career opportunity becomes one more place to act out their defense. Sociopaths try their con-artist and social provocation skills here as elsewhere.

On the other hand, it should be remembered that career education experiences which offer monetary return incorporate a tremendous incentive—one which is familiar to anyone who works for a living. Hardly is there a disordered pupil who is so out of it that the meaning of coin-contingency has to be taught. Apparently, money speaks even to the deviants in our society. It just doesn't always communicate the same message.

The lesson of the *400 Losers* (Ahlstrom & Havighurst, 1971) is worth remembering at this point. In this study, socially deviant youth carried their deviancy into the career learning place, where the program was designed to offer rescue through work—work therapy. Many of them stole what they could and destroyed what they couldn't carry away. The authors found that youth who lacked a positive adult worker image provided by a familial or significant other in their lives were unlikely to "find themselves" through the medium of work.

Anyone who has worked with disturbed persons knows that they do not leave their foul-ups at the career education door or the employment entrance. And the world of work is no less prejudiced against deviance than is the school. When a teenager works out his authority hostility on the boss, the job supervisor may just lose his cool.

Shore and Massimo (1979) have had long and illustrious experience with a comprehensive vocationally oriented program of treatment. They have followed their students' progress for 15 years. This community-based program combined job placement, remedial education, and therapy—each considered a necessary ingredient. The real payoff came when their students reached adult status, where the experimental group demonstrated better overall adjustment. It was necessary to develop an individualized, flexible outreach program with specific selection of each job for each youth. To integrate the impact, one person administered the several services. This level of effort is decidedly different from typical school practice—yet how iconoclastic can we be? If we are not, the potential of career education for behaviorally disordered youth will be minimized. It cannot be school business as usual, and anyone embarking on this venture should review the work of these authors in detail.

THE NEED FOR SUPPORT SYSTEMS

What does this suggest? It indicates that we must provide the same support systems for disturbed persons in career education as we do elsewhere. Crisis intervenors and consultants will be needed. In one training workshop for maladjusted young adults, the clinician was an on-the-line employee, moving to help when abrasive situations occurred. Since motivation is usually high, especially in sheltered workshop settings, crisis intervention can often help disturbed youth learn, through on-the-spot interpretation, things that are impossible to teach in an academic setting. Again, career education provides unique opportunities, but does not operate in a behavioral vacuum to automatically help or remediate.

Are we talking about career programs or people to help students with career development? We often confuse the plan on paper with the personnel who are on the front line. It has been observed that the success or failure of our pupils cannot be predicted by the structure alone. The facilitators are those who make endless "adjustments" in the system, work out the kinks, ward off the damaging impact of certain "rules," and help teachers avoid the burnout engendered by the tensions behaviorally disordered pupils create.

CONFRONTING THE REAL WORLD

Career education cannot be realistically conceived apart from the occupational world of the future. In some ways, descriptions of this new endeavor are set in a social vacuum. If anyone has tried to find work for central city minorities, the future is now. *Closer Look* (1980) reported "massive frustration in the search for employment" of learning disabled high school graduates, who found that the problems they faced in school were multiplied in the realities of the job world. *Closer Look* noted that no single agency can provide the assistance needed: it will take schools, human service agencies, business, and industry.

Let us hope schools will not expect to go it alone. Educational legislation for the disturbed so far ignores the mental health community, giving all responsibility to the schools. How are we going to mount the total community effort required? Many of our behaviorally disordered youth are not among the most employable, and many with multiple handicaps (behavior/learning disordered or behaviorally/mentally handicapped) are even less so.

When one is dealing with handicapped persons, there is a danger of being more sanguine than reality warrants. The outlook for full employment for those with normal potential is increasingly bleak as society changes. Opportunities will be seriously constricted. Success in the competitive market will depend on legislative protection. In a resurgent climate of conservatism and job scarcity, this will be more than difficult to maintain, since behaviorally disordered individuals have unique problems in the arena of handicapping conditions. In the first place, they do not exhibit the physical stigmata that typically engage the sympathy of the public. In the second place, their behavior itself is often abrasive. Third, the public has particular anxieties and fears associated with "mental cases."

FUTURES

It is becoming more difficult to sustain the euphoria of the 1970's in the 1980's. Too many quick solutions are proving to be less than adequate. Too many of the old problems are still with us. What we keep finding out all over again is how much raw human planning and energy is required to help one behaviorally disordered youngster. If the liaison between career education and special education for behaviorally disordered students encourages an investment adequate to the need, we shall really have moved ahead. Unfortunately, educational movements have a way of losing momentum before we learn how to make them effective. We had best capitalize on the current surge of interest to build as solidly as we can. Career education has maximum promise if we can face the realities involved.

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CONCEPTS AND DEFINITIONS

Charles J. Kokaska
Lynne H. Cook

Special educators have long recognized the arduous task of preparing students with disabilities to compete and survive in a demanding and ever-changing society and labor market. Career education has been viewed with some skepticism by general educators, but it has been heartily accepted by special educators as a logical extension of a broad-based concern for the total preparation of the student. A 1979 survey by The Council for Exceptional Children (CEC) of a sample of its members who are teachers indicated that 90% disagreed with the statement that "career education is just another fad that will soon be forgotten" (Johnson, Lamkin, & Ward, 1979).

Career education is one attempt to grapple with a serious problem. When Sidney P. Marland, Jr., the then United States Commissioner of Education, first identified career education as a reform in 1971, he was well aware of the thousands of students who were leaving elementary and secondary schools before graduation. To compound the problem, many of those students who did receive diplomas were not prepared to meet the personal qualifications and skill demands required in the labor market. All of these young people are prime candidates for recurring unemployment, job displacement, and personal dissatisfaction with their roles as "workers." They form a growing pool of surplus labor with neither the skills nor relevant experiences to place them in a position to command greater economic returns.

Behaviorally disordered individuals are also vulnerable to the social and economic forces operative in our society. They must cope with technological changes, increased demands for skill and productivity, and competition for a smaller number of jobs at the unskilled level. They must compete in the labor market despite their social-emotional handicaps.

THE CONCEPT OF CAREER

The word "career" is derived from Latin and means a road or path for vehicles. The word passed to the Englisn from the French language where it meant "life's path," thus implying a succession of lifelong experiences. In its early beginnings, career education was strongly directed toward preparing individuals for appropriate employment. This is still a valid concern, but it leaves some educators with the idea that "career" is just another term for "vocation."

Although a successful vocation is a vital element in a person's life, several proponents of career education prefer to emphasize the original translation of the term and conceptualize career education as preparation for the totality of roles which an individual assumes. Gysbers and Moore (1974), for example, contend that everyone has a career, since life itself is a career. This view represents the broadest sweep to the canvas of career education, and it is no wonder that these authors concentrated on the concept of "life career development" in order to direct attention to the individual's continual growth, change, and ability to function in such roles as learner, producer, consumer, citizen, and family member.

Career education is not merely a new name for vocational education. The latter term refers to technical skills training for specific work roles. This training is supervised by specialists who qualify for such occupational roles as accountant, secretary, or electrician. Training begins at the secondary level and is defined in terms of courses within an instructional program. Career education, on the other hand, encompasses all levels of the school system, involves all teachers, and promotes cognitive, affective, and psychomotor skills development.

DEFINING CAREER EDUCATION

No single, standard definition of career education exists; rather, several explanations and models have been proposed. A few are reviewed here in order to present a general flavor of the major concepts.

Kenneth B. Hoyt, the first Director of the Office of Career Education, Department of Education, has been a major force in the expansion of career education in this country. He originally defined career education as "the totality of experience through which one learns about and prepares to engage in work as part of her or his way of living" (Hoyt, 1975, p. 4). He emphasized the concept of work as "conscious effort, other than that involved in activities whose primary purpose is either coping or relaxing, aimed at producing benefits for oneself and/or oneself and others" (Hoyt, 1975, p. 3). The concept of work has been expanded to include voluntary labor, productive use of leisure time, and the unpaid efforts of homemakers and students. Thus, *career* is the totality of work one does in a lifetime and *education* is the totality of experiences through which one learns.

In reviewing the progress and future of career education in the 1970's and 1980's, Hoyt stated that educators will be challenged to maintain a strong effort after providing students with general skills for employability, adaptability, and "promotability" (Hoyt, 1980). Thus, he has continued to emphasize the work aspect of one's career while alerting educators to the essential role played by family, employers, and community agencies in the total process of career preparation. A concerted effort by public education and community agencies is particularly crucial to the lifelong adjustment and success of handicapped persons.

Career education is more than a set of lesson plans or a collection of commercial materials to be injected periodically into the class routine. It is a process which extends from preschool through the adult years. It is developmental, sequential, and cumulative. Above all, it is continuous because it includes a fundamental examination of one's understanding and assessment of the self in relation to circumstances in the environment. In other words, people change. They must assume new and different roles and their skills must change in response to altered circumstances. Table 1 reflects the relationship between dominant terms used in the professional literature to describe the general stages of career development and approximate grade levels for each.

TABLE 1

Career Stages

Dominant Terms	*School Years*	*Corresponding Terms*
Career Awareness	K-6	Motivation Accommodation Exposure
Career Exploration	7-8	Investigation Orientation
Career Preparation	9-11	Specialization
Career Placement	11-12	Acquisition

Regardless of the specific terminology used to describe the process, expectations at each of the four levels focus with increasing specificity on the following areas of development, summarized from the analysis of Johnson, Lamkin, and Ward (1979):

- self-concept and self-identity
- values clarification
- communication skills
- social relationships and attitudes

- attitudes toward work and work roles
- decision-making and problem-solving
- behaviors required in a work environment
- career information and career planning

MODELS OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT

Several models illustrate the individual's progression through stages of career development and the corresponding relationship of the school curriculum to the objectives to be realized at each stage. Two such models have been developed by professionals in special education with the exceptional individual as the primary focus.

Competency Based Model

Donn E. Brolin and Charles J. Kokaska (1979) defined career education as "the process of systematically coordinating all school, family, and community components to facilitate each individual's potential for economic, social, and personal fulfillment" (p. 102). They formulated a three-dimensional model to illustrate the relationship between three major components: competencies, experiences, and developmental stages.

The first "face" of the model divides 22 major competencies (and 102 subcompetencies) into three areas:

- daily living skills, which comprise the routine actions that every person performs during the course of a day.

- personal-social skills, which include such behaviors as developing independence and a positive self-concept.

- occupational guidance and preparation skills, which include preparing for, entering into, maintaining, and advancing in the work role.

The second face of the model includes the experiences through which students develop their competencies. These experiences may occur with family members, school personnel, peers, community agents, or employers. In the area of personal-social skills, for example, there is a wide array of agencies and organizations that can assist school personnel and families in helping students acquire specific competencies.

The third side of the model includes the four stages of career development: awareness, exploration, preparation, placement follow-up continuing education.

The basic thrust of the model is that all competencies can be engendered at every stage of career development and through a wide variety of human contacts. Each competency has its logical developmental sequence and one need not wait until a student reaches high school to begin classroom or family activities that enhance skill acquisition.

School-Based Model

Gary Clark's (1979) model takes the form of an inverted pyramid to illustrate the student's vertical and horizontal progression through the successive stages of the curriculum (see p. 46). He emphasized that the function of career education is based on four content areas: values, attitudes, and habits; human relationships; occupational information; and acquisition of jobs and daily living skills. These four elements, their objectives, and related lessons are altered as the student progresses through the hierarchy of grades and into an adult life. Students must receive training in these four areas while passing through the elementary, secondary, and postsecondary education programs.

Clark describes his model as one that "maintains a focus on work careers, but gives equal importance to other competencies critical to life careers and involves roles in addition to worker roles" (pp. 18 & 20). The model allows for entry into the job market at any stage as the individual acquires more sophisticated levels of technical skill training. For example, a student may complete a vocational/technical training program in high school and enter a specialized job while another student continues to postsecondary training.

CEC POSITION STATEMENT ON CAREER EDUCATION

The Council for Exceptional Children (CEC) has taken an active role in the nurturance of career education for handicapped and gifted individuals. It sponsored the formation of the Division on Career Development within the parent organization, two national conferences, a series of training institutes for professionals and parents, and several grants and publications.

CEC's position statement on career education was adopted at the 56th Annual International Convention in May, 1978. The statement includes a definition of career education, its relationship to the individualized education program (IEP), and its infusion throughout the curriculum:

> Career education is the totality of experiences through which one learns to live a meaningful, satisfying work life. Within the career education framework, work is conceptualized as conscious effort aimed at producing benefits for oneself and/or others. Career education provides the opportunity for children to learn, in the least restrictive environment possible, the academic, daily living, personal-social and occupational knowledges, and specific vocational skills necessary for attaining their highest levels of economic, personal, and social fulfillment. The individual can obtain this fulfillment through work (both paid and unpaid) and in a variety of other social roles and personal life styles including his/her pursuits as a student, citizen, volunteer, family member, and participant in meaningful leisure time activities.

Exceptional children, i.e., those whose characteristics range from profoundly and severely handicapped to those who are richly endowed with talents and/or intellectual giftedness, include individuals whose career potentials range from sheltered to competitive work and living arrangements. Exceptional children require career education experiences which will develop to the fullest extent possible their wide range of abilities, needs, and interests.

It is the position of CEC that individualized appropriate education for exceptional children must include the opportunity for every student to attain his/her highest level of career potential through career education experiences. Provision for these educational experiences must be reflected in an individualized education program for each exceptional child which must include the following:

- Nondiscriminatory, ongoing assessment of career interests, needs, and potentials which assures the recognition of the strengths of the individual which can lead to a meaningful, satisfying career in a work-oriented society. Assessment materials and procedures must not be discriminatory on the basis of race, sex, national origin, or exceptionality.

- Career awareness, exploration, preparation, and placement experiences in the least restrictive school, living and community environments which focus on the needs of the exceptional individual from early childhood through adulthood.

- Specification and utilization of community and other services related to the career development of exceptional individuals (e.g., rehabilitation, transportation, industrial and business, psychological).

- Involvement of parents or guardians and the exceptional student in career education planning.

Career education must not be viewed separately from the total curriculum. Rather, career education permeates the entire school program and even extends beyond it. It should be an infusion throughout the curriculum by knowledgeable teachers who modify the curriculum to integrate career development goals with current subject matter, goals, and content. It should prepare individuals for the several life roles which make up an individual's career. These life roles may include an economic role, a community role, a home role, an avocational role, a religious or moral role, and an aesthetic role. Thus, career education is concerned with the total person and his/her adjustment for community working and living.

PROBLEMS IN DEFINING BEHAVIOR DISORDERS

Definition and subsequent identification of behaviorally disordered youth has long been a highly complex matter.[1] Kauffman's (1981) observation that an individual is disturbed when he or she is so labeled by adult authorities may well be the most accurate assessment of current practices. Among the reasons for the lack of a single, objective definition are the evolution of distinct theoretical orientations to behavior disorders, the purpose for which particular definitions are written, and problems associated with the measurement of behaviors.

Theoretical Orientations

Although historical accounts reveal attempts to understand "deviant," "disturbed," or "disordered" behaviors since primitive times (Newcomer, 1980), the most significant conceptual advances have been made in the 20th century. The term *emotional disturbance* was first introduced to the literature, but not defined, in the early 1900's (Reinert, 1980). At that time, and for some years thereafter, most conceptualizations and treatments of emotionally disturbed individuals were based on Freudian, or psychodynamic, theory. The latter half of this century has witnessed the rapid development and articulation of diverse theoretical perspectives and treatment approaches. In addition to the psychodynamic (or psychoanalytic) orientation, biological (or biophysical), behavioral, ecological, sociological, and alternative (or countercultural) models have been delineated (Kauffman, 1981; Morse & Smith, 1980; Rhodes & Tracy, 1972). These newer conceptual models have contributed greatly to the definitions, identifying criteria, etiological assumptions, and intervention strategies presently described and advocated in the literature.

Theoretical perspectives vary in terms of the etiological importance each theory attributes to forces external to the individual. Newcomer (1980) suggested that each of them represents one of three positions along the continuum of "internality-externality." At one extreme, the *biological orientation* attributes the development of states of emotional disturbance to organic pathology (physiological malfunctions), and ignores the etiological influence of external forces. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the *sociological orientation* attributes all etiological influence to external factors. Persons are identified as "disturbed" if they deviate from certain prescribed cultural or social standards.

The *psychological orientation* occupies a more moderate, or central, position. Emotional disabilities are perceived to be caused by a combination of external and internal forces. Some of the theories in this category attribute greater significance to internal factors, advancing

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[1]As a category of persons eligible for special education, the most common labels are emotionally disturbed or behaviorally disordered, terms used synonymously in this chapter.

notions of innate or predetermined susceptibility to external stress; others place greater significance on external factors that are sufficiently adverse to disturb normal emotional development.

A definition of behavior disorders proposed from the perspective of any one of these frameworks is likely to meet serious opposition from proponents of other theories. Newcomer (1980) proposed a global definition, contending that one which avoids specification of precise behaviors or etiologies would be more acceptable to representatives of alternative theoretical orientations. She defined emotional disturbance as:

> a stage of being marked by aberrations in an individual's feelings about him- or herself and the environment. The existence of emotional disturbance is inferred from behavior. Generally, if a person acts in a manner that is detrimental to himself or herself and/or others, he or she may be considered in a state of emotional disturbance. (pp. 6-7)

Classification by Purpose

Definitions of behavior disorders may also be grouped according to their intended uses and purposes (Cullinan & Epstein, 1982; Epstein, Cullinan, & Sabatino, 1977). The theoretical orientations described in the previous section fall under the rubric of *authoritative definitions,* which are used to focus a discussion of behavior disorders around a particular perspective or philosophy. A *research definition* serves to define and describe the population of study and to facilitate replication of research. Critical review of research definitions reveals inadequate or ambiguous subject descriptions and defining procedures which severely limit replication or generalization of findings and further confuse thinking about behavior disorders (Balow, Rubin, & Rosen, 1977; Wood & Lakin, 1982).

An *administrative definition* is one offered by a governmental agency in the form of rules and regulations advanced for the purpose of guiding service delivery. Not surprisingly, there is considerable variance among administrative definitions designed by federal and state agencies. Cullinan and Epstein (1982) demonstrated that definitional criteria vary sufficiently from state to state to allow a youngster who exhibits a particular set of behaviors to be eligible for services in one state but not in another. Increasingly, state definitions are being modified to be more consistent with the definition provided by Public Law 94-142. Although this tendency has resulted in increased similarity of the types of information included in state definitions, the basic difficulty in defining behavior disorders has not been solved.

Measurement and Assessment of Behaviors

Measurement and assessment are additional deterrents to general acceptance of a single definition of behavior disorders. These measurement concerns are reflected in two overriding questions: "How are assessment data

collected?" "Who collects and/or contributes the data that are considered in identifying an individual as behavior disordered?"

The technical inadequacy of measurement tools has become an issue in the identification of various handicapping conditions (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1978; Salvia & Ysseldyke, 1978). Particularly noteworthy is the absence of valid or reliable scales, tests, or measurement devices that serve as a generally accepted basis for diagnosing behavior disorders (Kauffman, 1981). Even if such instruments were available, there are no established norms or criteria to designate the level of intensity, duration, or frequency at which given behaviors would be considered "disordered." Standardized criteria are also lacking for evaluating or quantifying the relationship of an exhibited behavior to a child's age or for determining the signficance of a behavior's persistence over time.

The perspectives of the individual collecting the assessment data are also of critical concern. In addition to his or her theoretical view, the evaluator's social role in relation to the young person may influence what behaviors are noticed and how they are judged. A parent, teacher, peer, or mental health clinician may view similar behavior from very different perspectives. The cultural background and individual tolerance level of the evaluator are also potentially biasing factors in assessment; behaviors that are adaptive in one culture may be considered deviant or maladaptive in another.

Underlying Similarities

Current definitions do reveal a number of similarities, despite inherent problems and differences. All definitions acknowledge interpersonal and/or intrapsychic disturbances, albeit the intrapsychic conflicts must be inferred from behavioral evidence. Hallahan and Kauffman (1978) identified several major features found in current definitions:

1. Behavior that goes to an extreme - i.e., is not just slightly different from the usual.

2. A problem that is chronic - i.e., not just temporary

3. Behavior that is unacceptable because of social or cultural expectations (p. 176)

There is also general agreement that the child's behavioral disturbance "causes academic and social problems which affect the child and his peers" (Algozzine, Schmid, & Conners, 1977, p.48).

THE FEDERAL DEFINITION

By mandating that all handicapped children between the ages of 5 and 21 be provided free and appropriate education, the enactment of Public Law 94-142 has intensified the importance of administrative definitions

of all handicapping conditions, including behavior disorders. The five characteristics of emotional disturbance delineated in the P.L. 94-142 definition are based on Bower's (1969) definition which was used in the in-school screening of emotionally disturbed children in California. The P.L. 94-142 definition of seriously emotionally disturbed reads as follows:

> (i) The term means a condition exhibiting one or more of the following characteristics over a long period of time and to a marked degree, which adversely affects educational performance:
>
> (a) an inability to learn which cannot be explained by intellectual, sensory, or health factors;
>
> (b) an inability to build or maintain satisfactory interpersonal relationships with peers and teachers;
>
> (c) inappropriate types of behavior or feelings under normal circumstances;
>
> (d) a general pervasive mood of unhappiness or depression; or
>
> (e) a tendency to develop physical symptoms, or fears associated with personal or school problems.
>
> (ii) The term includes children who are schizophrenic or autistic.[2] The term does not include children who are socially maladjusted, unless it is determined that they are seriously emotionally disturbed. (*Federal Register*, 1977, p. 42478)

In a comprehensive survey of state definitions, Epstein, Cullinan, and Sabatino (1977) delineated 11 types of information, or components, common to administrative definitions. The P.L. 94-142 definition includes 7 of these components (see Figure 1). This analytical framework has been used to discern similarities among state definitions and to compare federal and state definitions (Cullinan & Epstein, 1982; Epstein et al., 1977; Wells, Stoller, Schmid, & Algozzine, 1979). Currently, most state definitions contain the seven components presently in P.L. 94-142. The other four components are found in less than half of the state definitions; and fewer states now use these components than they did in 1976.

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[2]Autism was placed within the category of physical and other health impairments in January 1981, when a revision of the regulations governing P.L. 94-142 removed this condition from the category of seriously emotionally disturbed.

FIGURE 1

Component Analysis of P.L. 94-142 Definition*

Components Present

- Disorders of Emotion/Behavior: Child exhibits emotions or behaviors that are improper, immature, or indicative of a specific disturbance.
- Interpersonal Problems: Child cannot establish or maintain social relationships.
- Learning/Achievement Program: Child has such problems or, further, child's learning or achievement problems are caused by emotional problems.
- Deviation from Norm: When compared to a referent, child's emotions or behaviors are unusual or deviant.
- Chronicity: Child's problem has existed for a long time.
- Severity: Child's problem is severe or pervasive.
- Exclusions: Reasons that disqualify a child for services are given.

Components Absent

- Etiology: Child's problem is attributed to some cause.
- Prognosis: Child's problem is amenable to treatment.
- Special Education Needed: Child's problem requires special education services.
- Certification: Child must be officially labeled by appropriate authorities to be eligible for special services.

*Based on Epstein, Cullinan, and Sabatino (1977) typology.

The trend toward consensus, however, applies only to the *elements* contained in the definitions. The definitions themselves continue to be contradictory, circular, and ambiguous. The federal definition, which now serves as the administrative "model" for the states, is itself confusing. It addresses causation only through exclusionary criteria, and it does not delineate precise behaviors by which behavior disorders can be identified. Although Newcomer (1980) contends that lack of specificity may result in greater acceptance of the semantics of a definition, the circuitous terminology in the federal definition presents serious problems for those who try to understand and use it. Among the most troublesome aspects of the definition are the lack of operational criteria, the emphasis on *seriously* emotionally disturbed, and the exclusion of socially maladjusted students.

Absence of Operational Criteria

Failure to specify the behaviors that constitute behavior disorders or to otherwise provide operational criteria for implementing the definition may result in discrepancies of prevalence estimates, underidentification, and mislabeling.

Commonly cited prevalence estimates of behavior disorders show considerable variance, and generally range from .5% to 30% or more of the school-age population (Glidewell & Swallow, 1968; Schultz, Hirshoren, Manton, & Henderson, 1971). Although most literature suggests that approximately 10% of school children have behavior disorders that require intervention (Bower, 1969; Kauffman & Kneedler, 1981), a 2% prevalence figure serves to guide the implementation of P.L. 94-142. Recent surveys and government reports, however, indicate that approximately .5% of the school-age population have been identified and are receiving services as seriously emotionally disturbed (Grosenick & Huntze, 1980; Progress, 1979). The vague federal definition is a major factor in the discrepancies among the .5% of students being served, the official 2% prevalence estimate, and the professionally accepted 10% estimate. Although other explanatory factors must be considered, it is abundantly clear that reliable and valid prevalence figures cannot be obtained for an inadequately defined population.

Yard (1978) pointed to the insufficient clarity in the P.L. 94-142 definitions of learning disabilities and emotional disturbance, suggesting that vague criteria in both definitions create serious impediments to differential diagnosis and can lead to mislabeling. Other authors have also described the similarities in the conditions and characteristic behaviors of individuals labeled emotionally disturbed, learning disabled, and mentally retarded (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1977, 1978).

Mildly and moderately handicapped students who are characteristically quite similar are more likely to be labeled learning disabled or mentally retarded than seriously emotionally disturbed. According to Grosenick and Huntze (1980), parents object to having their children identified as seriously emotionally disturbed because the label is more stigmatizing

than are other categorical designations. Kauffman and Kneedler (1981) discussed the caution with which schools identify children as having behavior disorders or emotional disturbance. They suggested that the vague definition contains legal and technical loopholes that allow schools to avoid identifying many disturbed children for whom they may not have programs. This same definitional ambiguity, they suggest, increases the threat of successful parent-initiated litigation for misidentification of children in this ill-defined category.

Semantics of the Label

The term *seriously emotionally disturbed* is objectionable to many professionals who argue that it restricts attention to students whose behavior disorders are intrapsychic or psychiatrically determined. *Behavior disorders* is often thought to be a less restrictive term that includes the broader range of behavior problems that are evident in the schools.

The use of the term *seriously* in the official definition creates additional confusion. Emotional disturbance, like any handicapping condition, exists on a continuum from mild to severe. Specification of "seriously" in the label makes it unclear whether the category refers solely to the severely disabled or whether it encompasses the full spectrum of mild, moderate, and severe disabilities. This is a matter of particular concern, since the descriptor "seriously" is not applied to other disability categories designated in P.L. 94-142. Some states have adopted policy and definitional variations that afford services to mildly and moderately disturbed youngsters (Algozzine et al., 1977; Grosenick & Huntze, 1980), yet the intent of the federal legislation remains unclear.

Exclusion of the Socially Maladjusted

Several authors have addressed the absurdity of excluding "socially-maladjusted" from a category of persons characterized by maladaptive social and/or interpersonal responses (Kauffman, 1981; Wells, Stoller, Schmid, & Algozzine, 1979). In addition to the illogic of this exclusion, many states are finding that the law and accompanying regulations do not sufficiently discriminate disturbed from nondisturbed socially maladjusted students. Grosenick and Huntze (1980) investigated the practices of a representative sample of states and found that, although some are struggling to develop appropriate criteria, most educational agencies tend to label problem students as emotionally disturbed without much concern for the nature of their social maladjustment. These factors notwithstanding, the illogical and contradictory semantics of the federal definition could prohibit students with certain behavior disorders from receiving appropriate special education services. Of particular concern are students referred to as chronically disruptive (see Chapter 3), norm violators, troublemakers, or delinquent (Sabatino & Mauser, 1978).

IN SUMMARY

The absence of a clear, acceptable definition and the corresponding problems in measurement and policy implementation make the identification of behavior disorders or emotional disturbance a highly subjective and often capricious matter. Recent policy changes have not led to greater agreement regarding the nature of behavior disorders. In the absence of such consensus, we must continue to acknowledge the wide heterogeneity of characteristics within the behavior disorders category and strive to describe more precisely the behavioral characteristics of the students whom we label as behaviorally disordered.

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PERSPECTIVES ON CHRONICALLY DISRUPTIVE STUDENTS

Frank H. Wood
Terrence F. Kayser

"Why use fancy language like 'chronically disruptive'? Just call them what they are - troublemakers! They ought to throw them out so teachers can teach and the other kids can learn."

"They are hard kids to work with. Day in and day out, I think they probably give a teacher more pain and frustration - and less satisfaction - than any other group of kids in the school. But there is good stuff in most of them. I keep in touch with some of them after they have left school or graduated, and it is gratifying to see how many turn out OK. Why, just the other day...."

These statements are short and long views of chronically disruptive students. Despite a common label, this group is a heterogeneous one. If they have a common defining characteristic, it is that they behave in ways which disturb the adults charged with running the schools in their communities. *How* they disturb is a matter of individual style.

Since the social authority to define and enforce norms for school behavior resides with adults, these students are often described as "norm-violators," even though in some schools much of their behavior is normative in that it is regarded as acceptable or appropriate by the majority of their peers. However, those who label the school behavior of students as disruptive must not be dismissed out of hand as simply adults who do not like kids. They are labeling behavior that causes them direct pain or, at least, fear, discomfort, and anger. That behavior and their reactions to it make the job of teaching more difficult, and the schools in which it occurs, poorer places for learning.

Some of the challenges made by chronically disruptive youth to adult expectations fit typical patterns of adolescent growth and development (Erikson, 1968; Nelson & Polsgrove, 1981). As special educators, we are likely to become intensively involved with the more serious and chronic norm-violators in this group. These students are frequently in limbo as

as far as their eligibility for special education is concerned. While educators may agree that their behavior is definitely "socially maladjusted," not all disruptive youth demonstrate patterns of behavior on which diagnoses of "emotional disturbance" are customarily based, and to be eligible for service under Public Law 94-142, a student must be *both* "socially maladjusted" and "emotionally disturbed" (Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1977).

DEFINING THE BOUNDARIES

The boundary line between disruptive behavior of the nuisance variety and that which is considered serious is hard to specify. The classification of individual offenses is often influenced by the extent to which the classifier, or a group of people with whom he or she is closely identified, is directly injured by the offense. Most teachers feel more angry and threatened by a series of thefts of their own personal property on school grounds than by regular pilfering of items from the corner grocery. Teachers regard the former as a personal offense; the latter as a hazard of doing business across the street from a school "in this kind of area."

There is general agreement, however, that serious violations of the rights of individual students and teachers to safety of persons and property occur with regrettable frequency in the schools. Less seriously disruptive acts also occur so frequently as to be a major cause of concern to parents and teachers. A Gallup poll of public attitudes toward public schools (Gallup, 1979) revealed that "problem behavior" continued to be ranked first among all school problems. A study by the National Institute of Education (1978) supported this public concern. Secondary school administrators reported that offenses such as vandalism, burglary, extortion, rape, arson, and property destruction of various kinds occurred in 25% of the nation's schools in any given month. Yearly replacement and repair costs were estimated at a total of $200,000,000. At present, the rate of burglaries on school premises is five times greater than that affecting commercial establishments. Most of these offenses are believed to be committed by currently enrolled students. Less serious offenses, which nevertheless adversely affect the school environment, include chemical use and abuse, use of rude and obscene language, status offenses such as truancy and pregnancy, and miscellaneous school rule violations.

According to data reviewed by Sabatino and Mauser (1978), most disruptive acts are committed by males (6:1). Most violators are occasional rather than regular rule breakers. Perhaps this is one reason only a small proportion of even the more serious offenses are ever reported to the police. Offenses are more common in urban schools, although their incidence in suburban schools is rapidly increasing. Criminal and disruptive acts are also more common in schools with large numbers of students from culturally or racially different groups that have experienced severe discrimination or economic deprivation.

Disruptive students frequently have histories of academic failure and achieve poorly on standardized tests, but the relationship of their poor achievement to serious learning disabilities has not been definitely established (Bullock & Reilly, 1979; Schwartz & Wall, 1979). The association of emotional disturbance with chronically disruptive behavior is also not clearly understood. Since a diagnosis of emotional disturbance is a subjective judgment made by a licensed mental health professional following generally accepted professional labeling procedures, it is predictable that one professional may diagnose emotional disturbance as a factor in a student's norm-violating behavior while another sees the norm-violating behavior as volitional. The consensus seems to be that most students classified as chronically disruptive do not behave in ways customarily associated with emotional disturbance. But, it is also probable that the professional standards guiding such judgments are themselves warped by the reluctance of our society as a whole to view serious norm-violating behavior as deserving of therapeutic treatment rather than retributive punishment.

SEARCHING FOR "CAUSES"

The causes of chronically disruptive behavior have been studied extensively by behavioral scientists, mostly using research designs that produce only a correlational association of factors such as achievement status or home conditions. These researchers often develop hypothetical models suggesting how the correlated variables might be causally linked to the disruptive behavior. Sabatino and Mauser (1978) and Nelson and Polsgrove (1981) recently reviewed this literature at length. Single causation theories have attributed chronically disruptive behavior to such factors as genetic transmission, bad parenting, bad self-concept, defective parent-child relationships, bad schools, economic deprivation, delinquent gang influence, mental illness, and acceptance of asocial values. Rejecting simple causative theories based on correlational findings, these reviewers concluded that the causes are multiple and interactive. "The fact is...that we do not presently possess comprehensive knowledge of the causes of norm-violating behaviors or what particular youths in given families respond negatively or positively to child-rearing practices and attitudes they experience in homes or secondary social situations" (Sabatino, 1978, pp. 2-3). We agree.

Chronically disruptive behavior is best regarded as an extreme manifestation of the active resistance by many adolescents to the values and norms for behavior held by socially and economically powerful adults in their families, schools, and communities. A variety of factors, biological (genetic, neurological, endocrine), environmental (poverty, antisocial gangs, poor child-rearing practices, poor adult models, poor schools, chemical use), and experiential (personal history, past learning), have been shown to have limited correlational associations with chronically disruptive behavior in adolescence, but individually, these youth show their own unique variations within a complex pattern.

Given this complex causation, educators concerned with career development will be mistaken if they suggest that any one program for chronically disruptive students will appropriately meet the needs of all. Good answers to complex human problems are themselves complex.

A TIME PERSPECTIVE

The troublesome behavior of chronically disruptive youth must be viewed in light of their full life careers as students and citizens. Such a perspective is one of the important things that the career education conceptualization offers special educators. During the course of a lifetime, an individual typically fills diverse roles and has many different jobs and employers. Changes of residence and friends are typical in our society. We can expect that chronically disruptive youth will also change their roles and their associations. The evidence is strong that, for most of them, the change is in the direction of socially approved or, at least, socially tolerated behavior, and that disruptive behavior is part of a role they will leave behind with their adolescence as new interests become central to their lives.

The "retirement" of older members of "outlaw" gangs has been noted by many observers. In a popular account, Thompson (1966) noted that most "Hells Angels," members of the outlaw motorcycle club whose behavior epitomizes a chronically disruptive lifestyle, begin at some point to withdraw gradually from the group rather than "dying in the saddle" or in jail. This common growth tendency, moving from resistance to compromise or acceptance of dominant group values, should be remembered by career education teachers. Their efforts may have more long-range payoff than the immediate changes that may or may not be observed. Skills and attitudes learned and practiced in the program or even learned vicariously through observation of others (Bandura, 1977) may later be called upon as these youth enter a new phase in their life careers.

A recent newspaper human interest story provides an example. Describing the career of an educator who had just been named superintendent of one of our nation's large public school systems, the writer noted that this high achieving and highly respected man had been involved in chronically disruptive behavior as a youth, including activities that had led to police contacts. His subsequent career makes it abundantly clear that his growth and development did not stop at age 17. Some of the intelligence and strength applied by chronically disruptive youth to acts of resistance, as well as their criticism of authority and willingness to seek new, more exciting ways of reaching their goals, may contribute to later success in more socially acceptable roles. It is important, therefore, that family, friends, and teachers not give up their long-range expectations for positive accomplishment from chronically disruptive youth.

RESISTING THE TENDENCY TOWARD DISRUPTIVE BEHAVIOR

All of us focus our attention on that which gives us pain. The one sore toe gets more attention than the nine healthy ones. We highlight disruptive students by attending to their misbehavior, while giving little attention to students of whose behavior we approve. Although much might be learned from studying the behavior of socially well adjusted students who are coping in schools where disruptive behavior is typical of most of their peers, little such research has been done.

The possibilities of such research are suggested by Aiken, Stumphauzer, and Veloz's (1977) behavioral analysis of the lifestyles of two nondelinquent brothers in a Los Angeles community compared to that of the gang members whose criminal and intergroup violence was characteristic of the adolescent population of that area.

Several points from their analysis are instructive to educators offering alternative programs for chronically disruptive youth. School had been a negative experience for most of the gang members interviewed, as well as for the younger of the two brothers, whose academic difficulties were probably related to learning disability. The older brother, who had made the original decision to avoid involvement with the neighborhood gangs, found the school experience a positive one. Complete noninvolvement with gang life was impossible in this community. In order to survive, the two brothers had to be able to deal with the delinquent gang members while not becoming members themselves. This meant spending time with the gang, to a point where outside authorities such as the school and the police often treated the brothers as if they were themselves gang members, confronting and harassing them.

Dealing with such pressure was difficult, since survival also required a carefully maintained reputation for not being a "snitch" or police informer. These survival skills were developed by the two brothers at the same time they were struggling to meet school expectations and learning nondelinquent activities with which to keep themselves occupied in a community that offered few opportunities for recreation that were not controlled by the gangs. Clearly, these young men were making a remarkable adjustment in a difficult situation.

Yet, they were receiving relatively little help aside from that provided by their family and a few close friends. The older brother had had to drop out of college and take a job to contribute to the support of his family. At the time of the interview, he was temporarily unemployed. The younger brother was not receiving special help for his learning problems at school; "in his math class, he just sits quietly to avoid being called upon" (Aiken, Stumphauzer, & Veloz, 1977, p. 214). Why were teachers and police not major sources of help? Why were they in some cases actually hindering these young men's efforts to avoid involvement with disruptive activity in their community? Probably because their major attention was directed toward the rehabilitation of gang members.

THE CHALLENGE TO CAREER EDUCATION

Since the goals and promises of career education appear so congruent with the life interests of all students, including those labeled chronically disruptive, we would expect more success from career education programs planned and implemented with this group than is apparent to date.

The problem is actually a very fundamental one. The concept of a "meaningful satisfying work life" (CEC, 1978) embraced by those who plan career education programs is not accepted by most chronically disruptive students. Indeed, they reject much of the "academic, daily living, personal-social, and occupational knowledges and skills" (CEC, 1978) that will facilitate attainment of such a life. Chronically disruptive youth "ain't buying," either because they already possess the knowledge and skills that provide them with a meaningful satisfying work life of their own choosing, or because they feel that conformity to behavioral norms is too high a price to pay for participation in school programs, given the uncertain payoff. The frequent result, as Polsky (1962) observed, is the active mobilization of the group by its peer leaders to reject the rehabilitative program. Thus, successful career education programs for chronically disruptive youth must not only provide opportunities for learning new skills, but also overcome well established patterns of resistance to learning school- and adult-approved behavior.

Although the problem behaviors manifested by chronically disruptive youth may differ from that of students labeled "emotionally disturbed," the educator's task with each group is basically the same: to teach new knowledge and skills while simultaneously fostering attitudes that will support the learners' use of these tools to achieve a work life that is socially approved as well as meaningful and satisfying. To accomplish this two-fold task, career education programs must contain the twin components of skill training and attitude counseling.

EFFECTIVE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING

Given the diversity of the chronically disruptive group and the lack of a simple explanation for their adolescent choice of a disruptive lifestyle, it is not surprising that we cannot confidently prescribe one model program that will meet their needs. Sabatino and Mauser (1978, p. 52) summarized their findings as follows: "Chronic disruptive norm-violating youth are a relative social concern; they are both as easy to identify early as they are to rehabilitate. Our success at both has been minimal." Nelson and Kauffman (1977) were equally definite in their conclusion that "the answer" has not yet been found.

> Unfortunately, the efficacy of any one of these approaches is far from formally established. Few controlled efficacy studies of educational programs for delinquent and maladjusted teenagers have been conducted. Those that have been done have often yielded inconclusive or conflicting results, and what positive changes

in academic and social growth have occurred have tended to disappear sometime after the intervention has been withdrawn. (p. 109)

Despite the lack of definitive answers, certain programs succeed at least part of the time with some chronically disruptive students. Analysis of a number of these programs reveals certain common elements which all share or view as desirable. Because of the general lack of evidence for efficacy, we have chosen to list desirable program elements rather than single out one program as a model for career educators. These program elements are illustrated with material drawn from a number of representative programs. A program for chronically disruptive youth that included most of these components would presumably have a better chance than one that included only a few of them. These components are addressed in the subsections that follow:

1. Voluntary application by students and control of admission by program staff
2. Partial integration of students in the regular programs of the district
3. Student involvement in setting personal goals
4. Relationship of skills taught to immediate daily life needs
5. Individualized academic skill instruction
6. Counseling/problem-solving sessions focused on current student problems
7. Provision for reward or response cost contingent on student performance
8. Planned vocational training, placement, and follow-up
9. Parental involvement
10. Cooperation with related community services

Application and Admission Procedures

Given the strong negative attitudes many chronically disruptive youth have toward school, it will be an obvious advantage if their participation in an alternative program is voluntary, even if it is only a matter of choosing the best from among several less-than-desirable options. It is also desirable for staff to be able to choose from among voluntary applicants those they believe their program is best designed to help. Wood, Buescher, and Denison (1979) described one such procedure as follows:

> Of the students determined to be eligible for the Alternative Opportunity Program, admission and participation was still voluntary. Both the young adolescent and his or her parents had to give formal consent to placement in the program before enrollment was finalized. The expectation of the...staff was that every student would remain in the program for at least one academic year. (pp. 233-234)

The Vocational Village program (Lake, 1974) requires that each student pay a $10 registration fee and sign a statement accepting the basic rules and policies of the school. Staff members reported that a recent change in school district policy had resulted in more direct referrals to the program before students dropped out of school. In their opinion, however, students made a better adjustment to the program when they were permitted to drop out and experience firsthand the lack of opportunity for developing a meaningful career in the community. When placements are not made on a voluntary basis, the chances of a mismatch between program and student are much higher. In the long run, the result will be program deterioration and staff demoralization (Glick, 1979).

Partial Integration into Regular Programs

In the past, when alternative programs for troublesome, chronically disruptive youth were unavailable, these students were often simply excluded (Nelson & Kauffman, 1977). In recent years a greater number of full-time alternative schools have been established. When the move to one of those settings is voluntary, the option is a helpful one. If they exist primarily as a dumping ground for "undesirables," however, they will seldom remain healthy institutions for long.

If students' problem behaviors are not disruptive, programs can be primarily supportive to the regular program (Balfour & Harris, 1979). Barriers existing between programs can also be kept to a minimum by encouraging reciprocal movement between special and regular programs by students whose primary placement is in one or the other setting (Rosenberg, 1978; Wood, Buescher, & Denison, 1979).

Student Involvement in Setting Personal Goals

Basic rules and policies for student and staff behavior should be set initially by the staff. Individual goals for accomplishment in the program should be established through consultation with each student. Several procedures for structuring the negotiation of goals have been described. Homme, Csanyi, Gonzales, and Rechs (1970) outlined the basic procedures for developing teacher/student contracts. Polsgrove (1979) showed how the responsibility for contract monitoring and fulfillment can be given more completely to the student, thus making the experience a step on the way to learning self-control skills in task situations, an area of need for most chronically disruptive youth. Marshall and Heward (1979) reported on the use of contracting and self-control strategies with institutionalized delinquents.

Balfour and Harris (1979) and Carr (1979) described the application of "goal attainment scaling" to the needs of special students. This procedure established a cluster of five graduated goals for student performance, ranging from accomplishment at "much less than the expected level" through accomplishment considered "most likely to occur" to a level of accomplishment "much higher than expected." Discussion of this range of goals

before, during, and after student efforts to reach them helps both the student and teacher clarify expectations and evaluate accomplishments.

Relating Skills to Immediate Daily Life Needs

Developing a "relevant" curriculum has long been a goal of American educators. The traditional academic curriculum is relevant to the requirements of many professional and business roles, but as our high schools seek to meet the needs of all our youth and as society becomes less dependent on the human mental processing of numerical and printed information emphasized in the traditional program, its relevance for the career interests of many students is greatly reduced. Thus, there is some justifiable basis for criticizing the relevance of the traditional curriculum.

However, chronically disruptive youth typically level a broad charge against any and all curricula. "There ain't nothin' this school can teach that I need," said one such youth. And, through circular reasoning fueled by negative attitudes, if the school teaches it, he doesn't need it. The important point about curriculum relevance is to recognize the difference between rejection of content that is actually useless and inappropriate and rejection which results from general negative attitudes toward what the school has to offer.

Programs for chronically disruptive youth have taken two approaches to establishing the relevance of the skills taught. One approach is to expand program content to cover skill areas needed for successful performance in our present society. Examples are courses on drugs and sexuality, ethnic history, crafts, music, cooking, and childcare, presented in ways that stimulate student participation and offer direct reinforcement of learning. Even the most alienated "cool" students seem to turn on to a pizza making project or similar activity (Miller, Sabatino, & Sloan, 1975; Wood, 1979).

A second approach to establishing relevance is to place students in a situation where they need skills only the staff can teach them if they are to accomplish goals dictated by the situation. This approach has roots that go back many years (Loughmiller, 1965). Brown and Simpson (1976) have applied similar ideas in a program which culminates with a week-long, student-planned wilderness expedition. Berry and Learch (1979) described their program, which is based on teaching students the skills needed to operate the oceangoing vessel on which they are at sea. Lazar (1979) described a fascinating program based on a fast-food business operated by adolescents at Central State Hospital in Petersburg, Virginia.

Individualized Academic Skill Instruction

While chronically disruptive youth frequently perform academically below expected age and grade levels, the group is sufficiently heterogeneous to require individualized assessment and instructional programming. The possibility that learning disabilities contribute to adjustment problems

cannot be ruled out, but their presence should be established in each case rather than assumed for the group as a whole. The standardized test performance of many chronically disruptive youth yields an underestimate of the functional skills they possess, and poor progress is often more a matter of low motivation than deficiency or disability. Goodman (1978, pp. 60-77) presents procedures for teaching seriously learning disabled students who might be referred to career education programs.

Counseling/Problem-Solving Sessions

Most programs seeking to move chronically disruptive youth on into more mature roles and socially approved behavior use *both* behavior modification and counseling procedures in their efforts to secure behavior change. Although individual counseling is often used, the emphasis is more often on group discussion of problems focusing on current student behavior. While helping the students deal with other people and their feelings, the group leaders seek to provide an appropriate behavioral model. The leaders are often teachers or other staff members who have received special inservice training. Among the general counseling models that have been applied are those of "reality therapy" (Glasser, 1965) and "positive peer culture" (Vorrath & Brendtro, 1974).

Balfour and Harris (1979) and Larsen (1978) described the application of group counseling methods in two different programs. In Larsen's program, a "family group" consisting of 8 to 10 students and a faculty advisor met to discuss and work on student problems. Balfour and Harris formed groups of similar size, but stressed the value of a co-leader approach to group leadership, usually having a male and a female leader for their mixed-sex groups. Rutherford (1976) described a program for teaching youth the skills needed to make appropriate life decisions. Current problems are the focus of discussion in all these groups.

Provision for Reward or Response Cost Contingent on Student Performance

Behavior change contracts used in programs for chronically disruptive students often include both reward and penalty (response cost) clauses. Several well known programs have demonstrated the effectiveness of behavioral procedures for producing behavior change in chronically disruptive youth. One of these is the Achievement Place project carried out by Phillips and his colleagues (Phillips, 1968; Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen, & Wolf, 1971). The focus of the Achievement Place program was the group home situation, but in-school behaviors were modified and the plan has been adapted to many school situations (Bailey, Wolf, & Phillips, 1970). Cohen and Filipczak (1971) reported success with a token economy program implemented at the National Training School for Boys, Washington, D. C., but the closed nature of that situation makes the program less generalizable to typical school situations. Jeffery and Jeffery (1969) reported on a project using behavior change techniques which produced minimal positive results. While their findings may be due to lack of relevance of program content, they illustrated that no method is universally successful.

Planned Vocational Training, Placement, and Follow-Up

As a logical outgrowth of the need for relevant content, programs for chronically disruptive youth with a career education perspective generally include a vocational education component. Every program reviewed included some kind of work-study or vocational training component. Examples already mentioned include the shipboard program for training students for marine occupations and the fast-food business operated by students in a state hospital.

Some programs train students in their own shops before placing them in the community. Examples include the Career Development Center, a BOCES-operated program in Syosset, New York (Lake, 1974), a BOCES program in Yorktown Heights, New York (Irvine & Plumpton, 1970), and the North Orange County Regional Occupational Program (Jordan, 1978, pp. 78-85).

Evidence for the value of work-study components in programs for chronically disruptive youth is not as strong as one might think, given the prevalence of such components. Ahlstrom and Havighurst (1971) concluded that the work-study program they studied was not profitable for the majority of the students involved. Such programs sometimes fail because of internal problems, but their effectiveness may also be limited if students are not adequately supported on the job by employers, fellow workers, and society as a whole. However, skills learned through such programs may be applied later when resistance to socially acceptable behavior begins to wane and new roles are chosen.

Parental Involvement

Most programs make an effort to develop and maintain good communication with parents. Two patterns for involving parents seem to exist. In one pattern, the program seeks to obtain parental support for the program. Few such efforts are successful, and staff usually report feelings of frustration. In the other pattern, the program staff tries to build in supports for the parents on the assumption that strengthened families will help the program achieve its goals for students. Staff from programs which have adopted this strategy are more positive about the results of their efforts, but the very different nature of the goal they set for parental involvement should be noted. Kroth (1978, pp. 45-54) described a number of possibilities for parental involvement that can help parents as well as educators achieve their goals.

Cooperation with Related Community Services

Almost all programs for chronically disruptive youth list as one of their goals improved cooperation with related community services. Many students are involved directly, or through their families, with agencies such as the police, courts, and welfare and mental health agencies. The extent to which cooperation among such agencies reaches its potential is difficult to judge from the written account. Here again, there can be two purposes for involving other agencies. One is to seek support in reaching program

goals. The other is to help the student learn how to deal with the agencies that are currently an important part of his life.

As a model for cooperation which has been actually realized in Odessa, Texas, and the surrounding county, the program reported by Dial (1978, pp. 31-44) is noteworthy. In larger communities, it may be difficult to achieve the degree of cooperation among the public schools, courts, corrections department, county commissioners, mental health center, YMCA, rehabilitation commission, and other organizations which he reports, either because needed programs are lacking or because professional "turf" problems cannot be resolved. Dial's success, however, provides encouragement to seek ways to build better cooperation.

QUALITY PROGRAMMING: THE BASIC ISSUE

A career education oriented program for chronically disruptive youth that includes the components described will be employing our "best guess" strategies for helping these troubled and troubling youth move on toward personally satisfying and socially approved social roles. It is tempting to say that when we have provided students with such a program we have done all that can be expected - the first step toward benefiting from such a program, after all, must be taken by them. As the old saying has it, "You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink."

Not so, say our social critics (Schur, 1976). In making such a statement, one assumes there is good water in the program bucket, i.e., that the programming has inherent value. The old saying should be reworded: "The horse will drink if you lead him to good water." Is the water in our program buckets fresh - or just more of the same old stuff to our chronically disruptive youth? This issue cannot be easily resolved. In the meantime, unless we wish to adopt Schur's recommendation for a program of "benign neglect," we can seek to do the best we know by incorporating into our program those components that show promise of positive results.

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Section II
Programs and Practices

CONSIDERATIONS IN ELEMENTARY LEVEL PROGRAMMING

Patricia L. Sitlington
Gary M. Clark

Career education for the elementary aged behaviorally disordered student is an unexplored area, largely because the concept has been equated primarily with specific vocational programming--preparation for the world of work--and the target population for vocational preparation has been adolescents, particularly those labeled mentally disabled.

Career education, however, encompasses much more than preparation for the world of work, and it should begin much earlier than junior or senior high school. It holds great promise as a curriculum emphasis for behaviorally disordered youth.

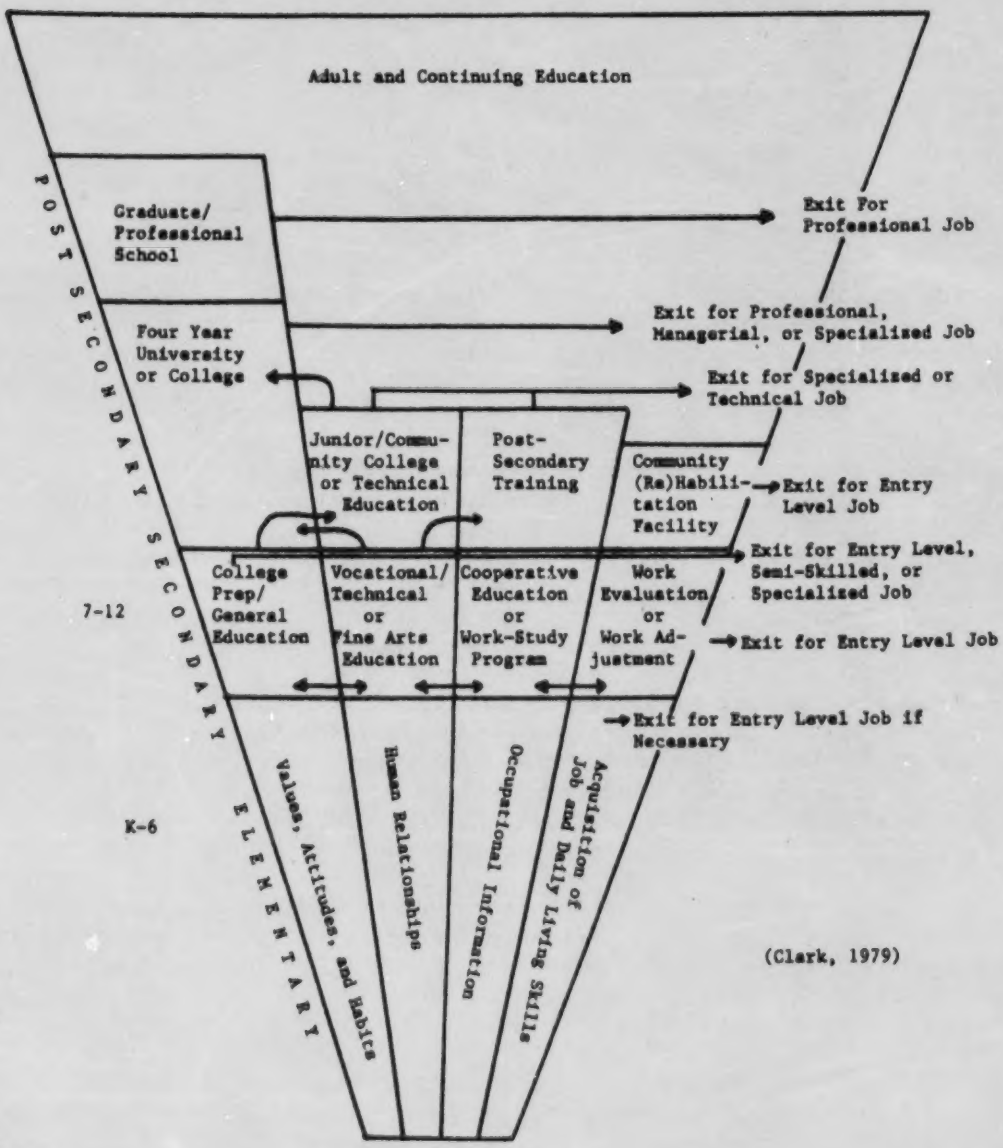
CAREER EDUCATION MODELS

Two models that have been developed as functional approaches for delivery of career education to the handicapped (Brolin & Kokaska, 1979; Clark, 1979) were presented in Chapter 2. Both make a strong case for an expanded view of career education that goes beyond the traditional focus on occupational awareness, exploration, and preparation. Both are designed to begin in kindergarten and go through adulthood.

In Brolin and Kokaska's presentation of the career development stages, the elementary years are concerned primarily with the awareness stage across all three areas of the curriculum (daily living, personal-social, and occupational guidance and preparation skills). The other model, developed by Clark, maintains a focus on work careers, but gives equal importance to other competencies which are also critical to life career roles. According to Clark, the elementary level curriculum should be based around the mutually important elements of (a) attitudes, values and habits; (b) human relationships; (c) occupational information; and (d) acquisition of job and daily living skills. As pictured in Figure 1, the vertical extension of the lines dividing the four major components is meant to suggest their extension through adult and continuing education.

FIGURE 1

A School-Based Career Education Model for the Handicapped


Adult and Continuing Education
POST SECONDARY
Graduate/ Professional School
Four Year University or College
Junior/Community College or Technical Education
Post-Secondary Training
Community (Re)Habilitation Facility
Exit For Professional Job
Exit for Professional, Managerial, or Specialized Job
Exit for Specialized or Technical Job
Exit for Entry Level Job
Exit for Entry Level, Semi-Skilled, or Specialized Job
Exit for Entry Level Job
Exit for Entry Level Job if Necessary
7-12
College Prep/ General Education
Vocational/ Technical or Fine Arts Education
Cooperative Education or Work-Study Program
Work Evaluation or Work Adjustment
K-6
ELEMENTARY
Values, Attitudes, and Habits
Human Relationships
Occupational Information
Acquisition of Job and Daily Living Skills

(Clark, 1979)

The graphic placement of advanced preparation and training options in relation to the components of career education in grades K-9 is incidental and should not be perceived as a track or progression. The four components of Clark's model are discussed in the following sections.

Values, Attitudes, and Habits

This area is one that has particular relevance for the behaviorally disordered student. It emphasizes the process of valuing rather than adoption of a specific values system. Behaviorally disordered students are encouraged to select paths of action with an understanding of why they believe as they do, how their actions are related to these beliefs, and what are the probable consequences of their actions. This does not mean, however, that certain basic values cannot be taught (and defended). Honesty, cooperation, productivity, equal opportunity, and friendship, for example, are values that the school should teach. Habits and attitudes are influenced directly by this valuing process. Values lead persons to assume attitudes or positions that reflect their beliefs; these attitudes are then manifested in relatively predictable behavior or habits.

At the elementary level, students are helped to develop an awareness of their own value as persons, some concept of responsibility, an awareness of their attitudes toward school, and behaviors that reflect respect for the rights and property of others. Although all of these characteristics will be needed by the students as they get older, the emphasis at this age should be on coping with current life problems at school, at home, or in the community.

Human Relationships

This area is also a crucial one for the behaviorally disordered child. Human relationships are the core of social interactions. Without satisfactory human relationships, children and adults find themselves totally isolated or rejected by others, and they attack or withdraw to avoid further hurts.

Career education should become a deliberate effort to develop skills for creating and maintaining positive human relationships. Behaviorally disordered children need to work through their feelings of anger and hostility, fear, or inadequacy, and learn how to communicate their feelings to others in socially acceptable ways. Clark's model divides these areas into cognitive and effective goals. The cognitive aspect includes awareness of behavior standards and environmental cues such as rules, standards of conduct, and even gestures and body language. Affective goals include developing self-control skills, sharing positive feelings toward others, and handling frustrations.

Occupational Information

The third component of the model involves not only awareness of occupations, but knowledge of all aspects of the world of work. The sub-areas

identified in this component are (a) occupational roles; (b) occupational vocabulary; (c) occupational alternatives; and (d) basic information related to the realities of the world of work.

Job and Daily Living Skills

In any model adopting the view that career education is much more than occupational awareness, exploration, and preparation, daily living skills must be included as an important component. Skills needed in daily living often overlap with those needed on the job. The skill needed to drive a car to work, for example, is closely related to driving a truck on the job, and skills for reading directions on a household cleaner are the same as those needed for reading directions on industrial chemicals.

It is in this area that Clark's model most overlaps with the daily living skills competencies developed by Brolin and Kokaska (1979). These skills range from simple to complex. Simple cognitive and psychomotor skills might be as basic as balance and coordination, spatial awareness, and fine motor skills, all of which will prepare the student for assuming more complex daily living and work roles in the future. More advanced cognitive and psychomotor skills appropriate for the daily living needs of an elementary age student might include using money, caring for personal belongings, good grooming, using the telephone directory, cleaning, using simple tools and appliances, sorting, and classifying. Job skills at this level should be those needed by the elementary student at his or her current functioning level, rather than job skills needed 8 to 10 years in the future.

SAMPLE OBJECTIVES

In developing career education objectives for the elementary behaviorally disordered child, it might help to look at the environment of home, school, and community, and the roles children play within each of them. Figure 2 arranges these roles within the four components of Clark's model. Such a grid gives us a framework for developing curriculum objectives.

The elementary level special education or regular class teacher has three sources to consult for sample career education objectives for the handicapped child. The first of these is Clark's (1979) *Career Education for the Handicapped Child in the Elementary Classroom.* Sample objectives, suggested activities, and materials for each component of the model are presented. The second source is Brolin's (1978) *Life-Centered Career Education: A Competency-Based Approach.* This source lists 102 subcompetencies in PRICE Compentency Units, including activities, objectives, evaluation criteria, and suggested materials for students from kindergarten through adulthood. Finally, Sitlington and Wimmer (1977) designed a career education objectives bank as a part of the *Instructional Based Appraisal System* (IBAS), with areas closely related to Clark's components. Half of these objectives are designed specifically for the elementary handicapped student, and are intended

FIGURE 2

Grid for Developing Career Education Objectives

CAREER EDUCATION COMPONENTS	ENVIRONMENTS and ROLES	HOME • Son/Daughter • Brother/Sister • Worker (unpaid/paid)	SCHOOL • Learner • Classmate • School helper	COMMUNITY • Neighborhood citizen • City citizen • State citizen • Neighborhood worker (paid/unpaid)
	Values, Attitudes, and Habits			
	Human Relationships			
	Occupational Information			
	Acquisition of Jobs and Daily Living Skills			

to be a framework on which to build a complete set of curriculum objectives. As an aid in integrating these commercially available objectives with the environment/role grid presented in Figure 2, Figure 3 gives sample objectives from these three sources grouped under the environments of home, school, and community.

VARIABLES IN CONSIDERING INSTRUCTIONAL DELIVERY APPROACHES

Infusion or integration of concepts and/or skills into the existing curriculum has been the most frequently suggested approach for delivering career education instruction. In fact, it is insisted upon. This approach not only attempts to accomplish a major goal of career education--to make subject matter more relevant--but also attempts to ameliorate the concerns of traditional educators who fear that career education will displace them or weaken their academic integrity.

If career education is restricted merely to occupational awareness, this approach can work relatively well in the elementary grades. Teachers have few, if any, problems incorporating various occupational awareness concepts and skills into social studies and language arts areas to make career education a visible instructional component of the curriculum.

Career education, however, must be more than occupational awareness. Expanding the scope of career education content does make a difference in its complexity and method of delivery to any group of children, but especially to exceptional children. There are other variables that also have a bearing on selecting delivery approaches. These include degree of handicapping condition, grade level, and administrative structures for instruction.

Complexity

A complex body of knowledge defies a simple delivery response. This is particularly true when much of the curriculum differs not so much in basic knowledge but in skill applications of that knowledge. This is made even more difficult when affective as well as cognitive goals are considered important. Managing this complexity requires a thorough review of the recurring problems, needs, and deficit areas of behaviorally disordered children and establishing priorities for instruction. While this must be done for groups of children in developing general program goals, the process is personalized through the individualized education program (IEP). If behavior problems are most critical, for example, primary educational objectives may be more affective or behavioral in nature than cognitive. Instructional procedures should then be selected to provide the most effective and efficient results. This does not solve the complexity problem at all and will result in relatively random instructional activity.

FIGURE 3

Sample Objectives From Commercially Available Systems

HOME - Son/Daughter
- Brother/Sister
- Worker (unpaid/paid)

Values, Attitudes, and Habits	• The student will be able to develop a weekly time schedule that allows adequate time for completing homework and recreational activities.(IBAS) • The student will be able to keep track of his/her personal belongings and come to class with all necessary materials. (IBAS)
Human Relationships	• The student will be able to respond appropriately to critical statements made by his/her brothers and sisters. (Brolin) • The student will be able to respond appropriately to the authority of the person in charge of the home when the parents are absent. (IBAS)
Occupational Information	• The student will be able to give the correct name for the occupation of both his/her parents (or other appropriate adult figure). (IBAS)
Acquisition of Job and Daily Living Skills	• The student should be able to use common cleaning products and equipment. (Brolin) • The student demonstrates the ability to wash individual body parts and use a bathtub or shower. (Brolin)

FIGURE 3, continued

Sample Objectives From Commercially Available Systems

SCHOOL - Learner
- Classmate
- School helper

Values, Attitudes, and Habits	• The student will demonstrate ability to analyze his/her attitudes toward school and his/her current role as worker. (Clark) • The student will be able to pick out which personal expressions and actions reflect positive or negative attitudes when the teacher or another student demonstrates a series of these expressions and actions. (IBAS)
Human Relationships	• The student will be able to list three ways in which he/she is different from other students in the classroom. (IBAS) • The student will demonstrate an awareness of simple rules of courtesy, sharing, and cooperative play and work. (Clark)
Occupational Information	• The student will demonstrate an understanding of how the skills being learned at school relate to skills needed at work. (Clark) • The student will be able to appropriately identify the major duties of his/her job as a student. (IBAS)
Acquisition of Job and Daily Living Skills	• The student should be able to perform a series of tasks in response to verbal instruction. (Brolin) • The student should be able to identify reasons for good attendance and punctuality. (Brolin)

FIGURE 3, continued

Sample Objectives From Commercially Available Systems

COMMUNITY - Neighborhood citizen
- City citizen
- State citizen
- Neighborhood worker (paid/unpaid)

Values, Attitudes, and Habits	• The student will demonstrate behavior that reflects compliance with community standards. (Clark) • The student will demonstrate initiative in identifying and performing tasks needing to be done. (Clark)
Human Relationships	• The student will be able to role play two situations showing types of behavior that could be accepted in the community, but not in the school and/or on the job. (IBAS) • The student will be able to state the names of six people with whom he/she spends the most time. (IBAS)
Occupational Information	• The student will demonstrate a knowledge of basic differences between the roles of paid and unpaid workers. (Clark) • The student will be able to give the correct job title and cite at least one job-related duty of persons within the community following visits to the classroom by these persons. (IBAS)
Acquisition of Job and Daily Living Skills	• The student should be able to make correct change from both coins and bills. (Brolin) • The student should be able to list basic pedestrian safety signs and procedures, e.g., crosswalks, pedestrian signals. (Brolin)

Degree of Handicapping Condition

Some professionals in the area of behavior disorders may regard this population, by definition, as *severely handicapped,* and may consider the term *mild* or *moderate* emotional disturbance as a misnomer. Realistically, however, schools are identifying and placing children in resource rooms or special classes who are, relatively speaking, mildly or moderately disturbed. Given this practice, it is obvious that delivery of any curriculum content will be affected by the nature of the student population.

While some schools organize their instructional approach systems on the basis of the nature of the students' needs, many organize them around currently accepted administrative models and then fit the identified students into the least restrictive alternatives available. It is this latter practice that frequently neglects the importance of the degree of handicapping condition and focuses on administrative efficiency.

Grade Level

The variable of grade level in selecting an approach for delivering career education content relates more to social and emotional maturity than to the type or degree of handicapping condition. At issue here are factors of mental and physical maturation, learning styles, independence in learning, need for structure, and ability in incidental learning, generalization, and transfer. Even in populations of behaviorally disordered children, one finds an increasing level of maturity and ability to take more responsibility for learning as the students move from kindergarten through sixth grade. Different delivery systems, then, should be selected to accommodate these factors.

Administrative Structures for Instruction

The resource room and the special class are the most common administrative structures or models for instruction of handicapped students in public schools. Private and state-operated schools use these or the special school model. Delivering career education within any one of these models is subject to the curriculum determined by the schools for that model. For example, the resource room model implies that students are in a regular elementary curriculum for at least half of the school day, and that time spent in a resource room will be primarily in support of that curriculum. The special class, on the other hand, maintains control of the curriculum and determines instructional content. This may be a formal determination through a curriculum guide or an informal determination by individual teachers. Similarly, residential schools determine curriculum for themselves and have the potential for monitoring both scope and sequence of content.

It is within this context that the three basic delivery approaches for career education content need to be examined, with some discussion

of advantages and disadvantages for each with behaviorally disorder children at the elementary level.

OPTIONS FOR DELIVERY

Three basic approaches can be used in delivering career education content. The *infusion* approach, which is most commonly suggested, incorporates career education concepts and skills into the activities and materials used to achieve the primary instructional objectives in the basic subject matter areas. Here, the most important goals focus on concepts and skills within such subject areas as reading, math, language arts, and science. Career education activities are used to enhance academic subject instruction, thus becoming secondary instructional objectives at best. Practically speaking, they are means to an end--academic achievement.

For behaviorally disordered students who spend time in regular classes, a functioning infusion approach may produce positive results. Classes are more reality oriented, academic content more concrete, and school more relevant. This approach certainly involves more teachers in the career education process and increases the exposure of behaviorally disordered students to a wider range of career education concepts and skills than they might otherwise experience.

The disadvantage of the infusion approach is its tendency to be an "activities" approach to instruction. As such, career education concepts and skills are learned primarily through incidental learning. Behaviorally disordered students might find this a problem. Further, infusion is not systematic enough to ensure that the scope and sequence of career education concepts and skills will be adequately presented. Finally, this delivery approach is ultimately dependent on the willingness and ability of teachers to incorporate career education content into each of the basic academic skill areas. This has yet to be accomplished on any statewide or national basis for handicapped students.

In the second major delivery option, *separate programming*, the reverse of infusion is operating. Career education conepts and skills are the primary instructional objectives, while academic skills are used as "enhancers" or means to an end. Separate programming may take such forms as separate units of instruction, separate courses, or a total career education curriculum.

For behaviorally disordered students, this approach assures that concentrated, purposeful career education instruction will be given at some time during the year. It certainly communicates to students and parents the importance of development in values, attitudes and habits, human relationships, occupational information, and job and daily living skills. For behaviorally disordered students, separate programming highlights the relevance and importance of school and provides more direct structure and focus on career education than does an activities approach.

From a negative view, separate programming adds to an already crowded curriculum. It also requires careful planning if it is to be a well developed, systematic, and sequential program; this implies use of a curriculum guide or published curriculum series, neither of which currently exists. In special classes or residential schools for the moderately to severely behaviorally disordered, where a total curriculum might be considered, there is the disadvantage of artificiality of instruction. That is, there are some content areas related to human relationships or daily living skills that are logical components of basic subject matter areas.

A *combination of infusion and separate programming* offers a satisfactory solution to this dilemma. It maximizes the advantages and minimizes the disadvantages for behaviorally disordered children. It has the potential for balancing the teaching of critical academic skills (with career education incorporated for motivation and relevance) and critical career education concepts and skills (with basic academic skills incorporated as problem-solving tools).

Although there are some existing and potential disadvantages of a combination approach, the major disadvantage is that there is no way to control the infusion aspect. Infusion can be encouraged or urged, but there is really no effective way of determining whether it has been done or done appropriately. Success rests completely with each teacher's commitment to career education and each teacher's competence and/or confidence in using the many instructional activities that are effective for infusing career development content into academic subject matter.

Figure 4 outlines recommended approaches for delivery of career education instruction based on grade level, degree of handicap, and instructional setting. Teachers, administrators, or curriculum developers should exercise flexibility in implementing the suggested options and in adding new ones. For example, units of instruction may be 3-day units or 2-week units. There may be 15 units planned during this year, or 36. Separate subjects or courses may be year-long, semester-long, or 6- to 9-week minicourses. A total curriculum approach can be organized around the four components of the Clark (1979) or Brolin (1978) competencies, or be creative in approach through some simulated activity. If a new delivery approach is conceived, it should be considered along with existing options.

SUMMARY

Career education for the behaviorally disordered elementary school child is a deliberately planned curriculum that focuses on the child's current and future roles and preparation for responding to a variety of environments and life events. It views *career* as the process of living rather than the process of making a living, and focuses on that process as it unfolds in home, school, and community settings.

Career education can be delivered in several ways, and there is probably no one best way. Whether curriculum is planned for groups or

FIGURE 4

Recommended Approaches for Delivery of Career Education
Instruction Based on Grade Level, Degree of Handicap, and Instructional Setting

	Mildly Behaviorally Disordered		Moderately to Severely Behaviorally Disordered	
	K-3	4-6	K-3	4-6
Regular Class and Resource Room	Infusion and Unit Teaching	Infusion and Unit Teaching	———	———
Special Class or Residential School	Infusion and Separate Subject	Infusion and Separate Subject	Infusion and Separate Subject	Total Curriculum

individuals, the delivery approach must complement the instructional objectives and deal with the issues of grade level, degree of handicapping condition, and administrative models for instruction available. Infusion of career education concepts and skills into traditional subject matter is needed and should be done continuously. Behaviorally disordered students, however, need the structure and direct instructional intervention provided in separate programming options for certain critical competency areas. Program planning and implementation should be done with these suggested guidelines in mind and the ultimate questions of any educator kept as a basic starting point: What do we want these children to be able to know and do now and in the next three years?

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SELF-AWARENESS AND CAREER EXPLORATION AT THE JUNIOR HIGH LEVEL

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> "By 'preadolescence,' I mean the phase when the nicest children begin to behave in the most awful way." (Redl, 1966, p. 365)

Given the heightened emotions, frequent mood shifts, and fluctuations in behavior that characterize the junior high student, it is not surprising that some parents and teachers wonder whether their children are behaviorally disordered. Indeed, it is often difficult to discriminate between children who are experiencing the vicissitudes of normal adolescent development and those who are truly behaviorally disordered. Duration and intensity of observed behaviors rather than their mere presence or absence is one guideline for making this distinction.

Physically and developmentally, children between the ages of 13 and 15 are progressing from late childhood to early adolescence. Educationally, they are in the transitional middle grades between elementary and high school. Several authors (Curtis & Bidwell, 1977; Klingele, 1979; Schmuck, 1965) have described the general characteristics of junior high students. In growth, girls are approximately two years ahead of boys. Body framework and muscular development are often disproportionate. Boys frequently have more stamina than girls. Physical conditions such as heart abnormalities are often first discovered as youngsters become involved in competitive sports. As girls begin their menstrual cycles, various bodily changes follow, including rounding of the hips and development of the breasts.

Behavior fluctuations from childish to mature are typical. Frequent mood changes may alternately reflect anxiety, frustration, happiness, sadness, tension, or anger, and may be expressed in giggling, laughter, pouting, withdrawal or angry outbursts. Preadolescents are easily offended and extremely critical of the shortcomings of others. Peer pressure and the desire to please adults cause them much emotional tension. Being successful and recognized may, at times, place them at odds with their peers.

In the social area, interest in clothes, grooming, the opposite sex, and peer approval is growing. Girls place greater emphasis on the opposite sex, romance, and social relationships, while boys appear to be more interested in physical activities and least concerned with social activities involving girls. Relating to adults other than parents is important at this age.

Intellectually, junior high students seek answers to problems having meaning to them on their own level, in their own world. Impatience and insistence on immediate answers is common. They seek to make personal decisions, whether trite or significant. Although they like to do things on their own, knowing they can be secure and feel safe when they make mistakes is important. Although preadolescents advocate their readiness to assume more responsibility, they often do not want to accept the consequences for irresponsible decisions. Constantly seeking teenage status, they nevertheless cling to the security of being a child.

THE ROLE OF CAREER EDUCATION

Junior high students may have a pessimistic view of the future and of life in general because they are unsure of what lies ahead. They are in search of self, personal meaning, and their place in the real world. During this merry-go-round time of life, career education offers positive potential. In a time of uncertainty, it can help focus life goals.

Career education has strongly recognized the unique needs of the junior high student. These needs are based on physiological changes, cognition processes, social cognition, impressions of self and peers, identity information and problem-solving (Preli, 1979). Activities at the junior high level are geared toward increased student awareness of personal interests, abilities, and needs in relation to academic studies and to making decisions pertaining to future goals (Arizona State Department of Education, 1976).

As defined by Munson (1978), "Career education is the planned exposure of individuals to the concepts, information, and experiences that can facilitate career development by contributing to one's understanding of 'self' (being) and 'self-in-situation' (behaving)" (p. 136). Career education experiences are intended to help students explore themselves and their relationship to the work-a-day world.

Academically, career education "refers to a total school program which hopes to help all students facilitate personal identification through the world of work" (Tilzgrow, 1975, p. 197). By integrating, orienting, and redirecting the curriculum through a career education focus, basic subject matter becomes clearly related to the world of work in which the junior high student lives.

Infusing the components of career education into the existing program of studies can help junior high students assess their current life experiences.

According to McKinnon and Jones (1975), basic components of career education include solving problems, understanding self and others, understanding the world, obtaining skills and experiences, and achieving identity. While skill development in these five areas is important for future successes, content must be related to the student's immediate concerns. Work-effectiveness skills, for example, might appear meaningless to a student who has never been employed. As in all learning experiences, activities must take individual differences into account. Selection and use of teaching materials must be congruent with the student's present level of development (Campbell, 1978).

While proclamations are proliferated and dollars dispersed, career education programs appear to be limited primarily to students enrolled in regular school programs. According to Davis and Weintraub (1978):

> Part of this problem relates to the fact that special educators, who have traditionally been responsible for the total education of the handicapped, have provided limited career education. Also responsible, however, are general educators who fail to provide career education experiences adapted to the needs of the handicapped in their classrooms. (p.24)

In part, some of the apparent failure to provide special career education services for the handicapped is more a matter of degree than fact. Some components of career education have been presented for years in special classes designed for behavior disordered students. The names are not the same, but the programs are similar. Consider, for example, the career education components that deal with solving problems, understanding self and others, and achieving identity (McKinnon & Jones, 1975). Skill development in these areas is often a primary curriculum focus for behavior disordered students. Values clarification, reality therapy, and transactional analysis are just a few of the techniques commonly used to enhance the acquisition of appropriate social behavior.

Components of career education have also been provided to behaviorally disordered students who spend all or part of the day in regular classes. Such placement provides a realistic setting for social learning. Development of social skills is also supported through many junior high school clubs and activities.

ACADEMIC AND SOCIAL SURVIVAL

The behaviorally disordered junior high student is still in the process of acquiring many of the essential life skills that are the focus of career education programs. Implicit in the definition of the term "behavioral disorders" is the notion that the student displays behaviors that are incompatible with the social or cultural norm.

A two-pronged curriculum focus may be appropriate for the special class student who has been identified as behaviorally disordered: (a) academic survival, and (b) social survival. Academic deficits are often associated with behavior disorders. Frequently, these students have failed to acquire the study skills necessary for academic survival in the junior high setting. They are often unable to follow directions, organize materials and information, and budget time appropriately. The lack of study skills compounds social and emotional problems. A common example is the student who postpones an assignment until the last possible moment. Frustration mounts as time runs out. The behaviorally disordered student, typically having a low tolerance for frustration, will either hand in a poorly completed assignment or none at all. In either instance, the student is penalized with a low grade. Typically, a failure situation tends to discourage further effort. Failure begets failure.

In an even more desperate situation, the student, in addition to lacking study skills, also lacks basic academic skills. For some, the ability to read or perform basic calculations is seriously limited. Although these students may be two or three grade levels below their peers, they exhibit no particular learning problem. Yet the texts assigned in junior high are often too difficult for them. In the elementary setting, the teacher can more easily accommodate individual needs, but with five to six teachers and multiple texts at the junior high level, the problem is exaggerated.

The special class is an appropriate setting for intense, extensive academic interventions and remediation. Career education material can be a vehicle for acquiring interesting and significant information as skill deficits are remediated. Topics such as career options and leisure time activities may be relatively novel for some students, and the chance to succeed in a previously unexperienced academic arena can be an excellent motivator.

Social survival is the second major area of focus. Some students identified as behaviorally disordered are not in need of academic remediation. For them, the special class can be the setting in which they learn how to behave in socially acceptable ways. The student may devote an entire class perior, for example, to the exploration of societal norms in the context of situations involving peer pressure.

For behaviorally disordered students at the junior high level, career education components should place primary emphasis on self-awareness, attitudes, and decision-making, with secondary emphasis on career awareness, educational awareness, and economic awareness. The extent to which a particular component is stressed depends on the nature of the individual's functioning in relation to the demands of the junior high setting. A major goal is the development of accurate self-perceptions of personal abilities, limitations, and interests relevant to school and career decisions (Davis & Weintraub, 1978).

PERSONAL/SOCIAL SKILLS IN CAREER EDUCATION

The personal/social skills component of career education should include attention to self-understanding, self-esteem, and social relations. Understanding of "self" is a necessary prerequisite to understanding the "self-in-situation." Yet, how individuals view themselves is influenced by the environmental situations they encounter. Self-concept is considered to be a derivative attitude toward the self which results from experiences with the environment (Sloane, Buckholdt, Jenson, & Crandall, 1979).

Developmentally, junior high students are experiencing an awakening interest in themselves and their relationships to peers, parents, and significant others. In a normal maturational sequence, preadolescents develop self-esteem as they experience a sense of significance, competence, and power or potency. These three variables have been defined by Coopersmith (1967) as follows:

1. *Significance* is the belief that one is liked by and important to someone who is important to him.
2. *Competence* is experiencing success at some task that has value and is reinforced within the environment.
3. *Power* is a person's ability to control parts of his environment.

According to Jones (1980), adolescents who experience behavior problems consistently fail to experience one or more of the essential ingredients of significance, competence, and power within their school or home environment. Failure to experience one or more of these components leads to low self-esteem and a high probability of disturbance of "self" and reciprocally "self-in-situation." Restated, this means that there is an interactive effect between a person's behaviors and the behaviors of others toward that person. A typical example seen at the junior high level is the student's refusal to accept, carte blanche, a teacher's work assignment. The teacher requests that an assignment be done and the student questions the assignment. Conflicting value systems of teacher and students could easily result in (a) altering the student's perception of herself and her teacher, (b) altering the perceptions of the teacher toward the student, and (c) altering role expectations between the student and the teacher.

Closely related to self-esteem is the area of values incongruence. According to Mongo (1978):

> Values incongruence is frequently the source of biased perceptions as to what is inappropriate behavior, fear and hostility, misunderstandings, and contrasting or antagonistic expectations, all of which may lead to organizational conflict. (p. 11)

In a junior high setting, the degree of compatibility among value systems and the level of tolerance for individual differences can have a critical

effect on a student's sense of significance, competence, and power. Self-esteem has a direct impact on productivity and the achievement of individual and group goals.

Social relations skills also play a major role in the development of self-esteem. Those of behaviorally disordered students differ from the norm more by degree than by type. When a disequilibrium with the environment is encountered, the intensity of the experience and concomitant reactions to it are less than socially acceptable. When faced with threats or harrassment, the student tends to withdraw or to respond aggressively in an exaggerated or inappropriate fashion. Feelings of rejection, loneliness, and powerlessness are attitudinal by-products. Negative reactions to behaviors in environmental situations often occur as a result of their association with a history of punishing stimuli (Sloane, Buckholdt, Jenson, & Crandall, 1979).

Strategies for Developing Personal/Social Skills

The behaviorally disordered student must be able to demonstrate competence in social settings if self-esteem is to be enhanced. According to ecological theory, interventions must focus on the situations or settings where disturbances are most likely to occur.

Ecological theory suggests that "the emotionally disturbed child affects and is affected by his community. This reciprocal relationship should be taken into consideration in any attempt to describe or treat the disturbance" (Rhodes & Tracy, 1974, p. 332). Treating the student without regard for the setting in which the disturbance occurs is a lot like the "ostrich-with-head-in-sand" syndrome, which assumes that by ignoring the interface between the student and the environment, the problem will go away. This "out of sight, out of mind" approach is of little help. The chosen treatment must be relevant to the student's natural environment; treatment gains may be impossible to demonstrate or maintain unless exhibited in the natural environment (Harth, 1975).

At the junior high level, the natural environment is most often home or school. For the behaviorally disordered student, one or both of these environments has failed to support a sense of positive self-esteem. Strategies for altering the expectations of significant others need to be developed. These include both self-directed and teacher-directed strategies.

In some instances, it may be necessary to teach students how to change other people in their environment. By teaching them strategies for changing others, they are more likely to develop a sense of power or potency, inculcate a sense of self-control in their own lives, and increase their sense of competency in human relationships. Clinical data (Rosenberg & Graubard, 1975) further suggest that "in the process of learning to change others, the 'deviant' changes his own behavior and receives feedback and reinforcement for this change" (p. 365).

Teachers can also be highly influential in raising self-esteem. They can consciously arrange the school environment to increase the likelihood that positive academic and behavioral performance will occur. Positive changes in these performance areas are typically accompanied by positive attitudes and heightened self-esteem.

The use of group-oriented contingencies is one proven technique that can help students achieve a more acceptable level of classroom performance. According to Litlow and Pumroy (1969), there are three basic types of group contingencies. With the first type, the performance of a single individual provides a positive or negative consequence to the whole group. In the second type, each member of the group earns a reinforcer based on individual performance. With the third type, contingencies are simultaneously in effect for all group members and consequences applied to the group in toto depending on the group performance.

Management of behavior by group contingencies has been successfully demonstrated many times. In one such study (Medland & Stachnik, 1972), a 97 to 99% reduction in talking-out, disruption, and out-of-seat behavior was achieved through application of this method. Group contingency planning also introduces students to the notion of group cooperation and responsibility. It furthers the insight that responsibility to the group may necessitate behavior contrary to personal choice. Awareness of the relationship between individual and group goals is one of the first steps toward understanding the world of work.

CAREER AWARENESS

If the choice of a career is to be an expression of one's values, then all junior high students, including those who are labeled behaviorally disordered, should be given experiences that help them define a workstyle that is compatible with their values. Stoddard (1978) suggested that students consider answers to the following questions:

1. How important is autonomy in my job?
2. Should my job be an integral part of my nonworking life?
3. Do I want routine work or do I want work that requires constant decision-making skills?
4. Do I want opportunities for a good deal of creativity in my job? (p. 12)

Answers to such questions at the junior high level can be explored in two basic and complementary ways. One exploratory technique involves relating the question to the student's current academic and social experiences. For example, a discussion of Question 2 might begin with the question "Do you like to finish all your class assignments during school time or do you like to work on them at home?"

A second exploration technique involves relating questions to future occupations. By becoming familiar with a variety of career groupings, students can compare their personal characteristics and interests with the demands of specific occupations. Examining a variety of job attributes can help them explore career options. Such attributes include the work environment (e.g., indoors or outdoors), social relationships (e.g., frequency of contact with other people), level of independence in decision-making (self-directed or employer-directed), and the type of reinforcements (extrinsic and/or intrinsic) received (Gati, 1979).

For the behaviorally disordered junior high student in particular, exploration of career attributes in relation to a sense of self is critical. Career awareness may, in fact, be a therapeutic experience. It may motivate the student toward achieving an educational or social status that provides entry into occupation within selected career areas.

In the area of economic awareness, frequent field trips can provide real-life examples of the economic needs associated with various life-styles. A trip to a hotel, for example, sparked the following series of events for one behaviorally disordered youth:

> Upon entering a Hyatt-Regency Hotel, a student much into macho stated that he was going to bring his girlfriend here for their honeymoon. Encouraged by his teacher, he asked the hotel attendant how much it would cost to spend an evening at the hotel. Upon receiving an answer, the student (for once) was totally speechless. It had never occurred to him to question that the costs of goods and services could be more than he could afford.

This example helps to illustrate the tremendous potential that exists for capitalizing on pupils' interests in a real-life setting. For the behaviorally disordered adolescent, abstract theorizing about economic realities is unlikely to be useful. Direct interaction and contact with the work-a-day world can have far more personal impact.

CONCLUSION

Many different avenues can be taken to prepare behaviorally disordered junior high students for meaningful careers. General consensus exists that career education for these students is valuable. If the goal of such training is to reduce disability, educational experiences must be specific and precise. Many techniques currently applied in the area of behavior disorders are directly related to the goals of career education. Career education programs for behaviorally disordered youth should emphasize self-awareness. Career awareness activities can help the student recognize the value of education for both leisure and work satisfaction. In line with ecological theory, program practices should also reflect the underlying conviction that performance changes must also occur in the problem environment.

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A HIGH SCHOOL MODEL FOR THE BEHAVIORALLY DISORDERED: FOCUS ON CAREER EDUCATION

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Gladys T. Wolff

As a developmental phase of life, adolescence is normally viewed as a fairly smooth extension of earlier experiences in family, community, and school environment. Physiological and cognitive growth contribute to an increased ability to explore a greater variety of options in life choices during the high school years. For most youth, this period provides an opportunity for generalization of earlier competencies applied to new social settings (Erikson, 1968; Offer, 1969). For some, however, adolescence is experienced as abnormally and persistently stressful, and dysfunctional behaviors occur (Blos, 1979).

> Jenny is a 15-year old female who received academic and social support during her elementary school years under the labels of brain damaged, learning disabled, and emotionally disturbed at different times. Her parents describe her as helpless and irresponsible. Behaviors observed at school are patterns of inappropriate dependencies and social isolation. Her classroom teachers see her as shy and academically skill deficient. She attempted suicide and was hospitalized for depression. She describes herself as "going crazy" and relates stories of talking to ghosts while alone at night. Additional frequent behaviors are high somatic tension, headaches, constant fear, and sleeplessness. An assessment of Jenny's home, school, and community interactions supported all of the above descriptors, with patterns of withdrawal, depression, and high anxiety noted across all settings.
>
> Jerry is a 16-year old male who was physically and psychologically abused in his natural home and lived in seven foster homes in the past three years. He has been in a variety of school and community correction programs. Minor trouble with the law for vandalism, vagrancy, and alcoholism has been a

consistent pattern. Teachers, foster parents, and case workers all describe him as rebellious, hostile, and nonconforming. Academic performance is at the second to third grade level in reading and mathematics, although assessments of potential indicate abilities for normal academic achievement. His behaviors in all three settings--home, community, and school--show evidence of rebellion, lack of cooperation with peers or adults, and lack of responsibility for his actions.

Adolescents such as these, who are experiencing a high degree of stress in family, community, and/or school relationships, are typical of those who might be identified as needing special support services.

MEETING THE NEED

High schools offer the last structured opportunity for handicapped youth to prepare for life under the support of Public Law 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. Individualized education programs as mandated in this law should include objectives that prepare youth to function independently and successfully in future life. A curriculum that addresses such objectives is essential for all youth, but it is even more critical for behaviorally disordered youth, who have been identified as dysfunctional in meeting the demands of society. The very fact that the identifying characteristics have been those of "dysfunction in society" points clearly to the need for curriculum objectives that support effective and positive functioning in home, school, and community settings.

One of the major criticisms of today's education is that too many students fail to see meaningful relationships between what they are being asked to learn in school and what they will do when they leave the educational system (Gardner & Warren, 1979). This is especially evident with dysfunctional youth. Career education is one vehicle that can begin to offer a solution. It makes available all the prerequisites--attitudes, knowledge, and skills--necessary to choose, prepare for, and pursue a successful career throughout life (Hoy, 1975).

With nondisordered youth, adjustments to society generally occur as a relatively smooth, natural sequence of events. Disordered youth must be given additional assistance and structure to make the life adjustments necessary for success. To be effective, support services must be coordinated through one central focal point; otherwise, program goals could turn out to be piecemeal or narrow in focus.

This chapter looks at a public high school career education model for behaviorally disordered youth. It represents an integration of the experiences of both authors along with the findings of recent research and components from several existing model programs. The model as presented here is at a theoretical stage; some aspects have been initially piloted and evaluated. Refinement and development of the component parts are in process.

OVERVIEW OF THE MODEL

Figure 1 illustrates the sequence of the major component parts of the model. The student is first referred (step 1.0) by a teacher, specialist, parent, or possibly by self-referral. In accordance with P.L. 94-142 regulations, due process procedures include informing the parent of the referral, gaining permission for assessment, and advising the family of their rights. Such procedures must be followed before any action is taken. Referrals are screened by teams of professionals who analyze data obtained from current and previous testing, family and school history, and behavioral observations.

If it is determined that a formal evaluation is needed (step 2.0), additional systematic observations of student behaviors in family, school, and community settings are made. Cycles of interpersonal interactions and consequences are observed to determine the flow and interruption of events. For example, probes are made to determine the stimulus for deviant behaviors, the responses of significant persons at home and school to these behaviors, and what consequences occur for the youth.

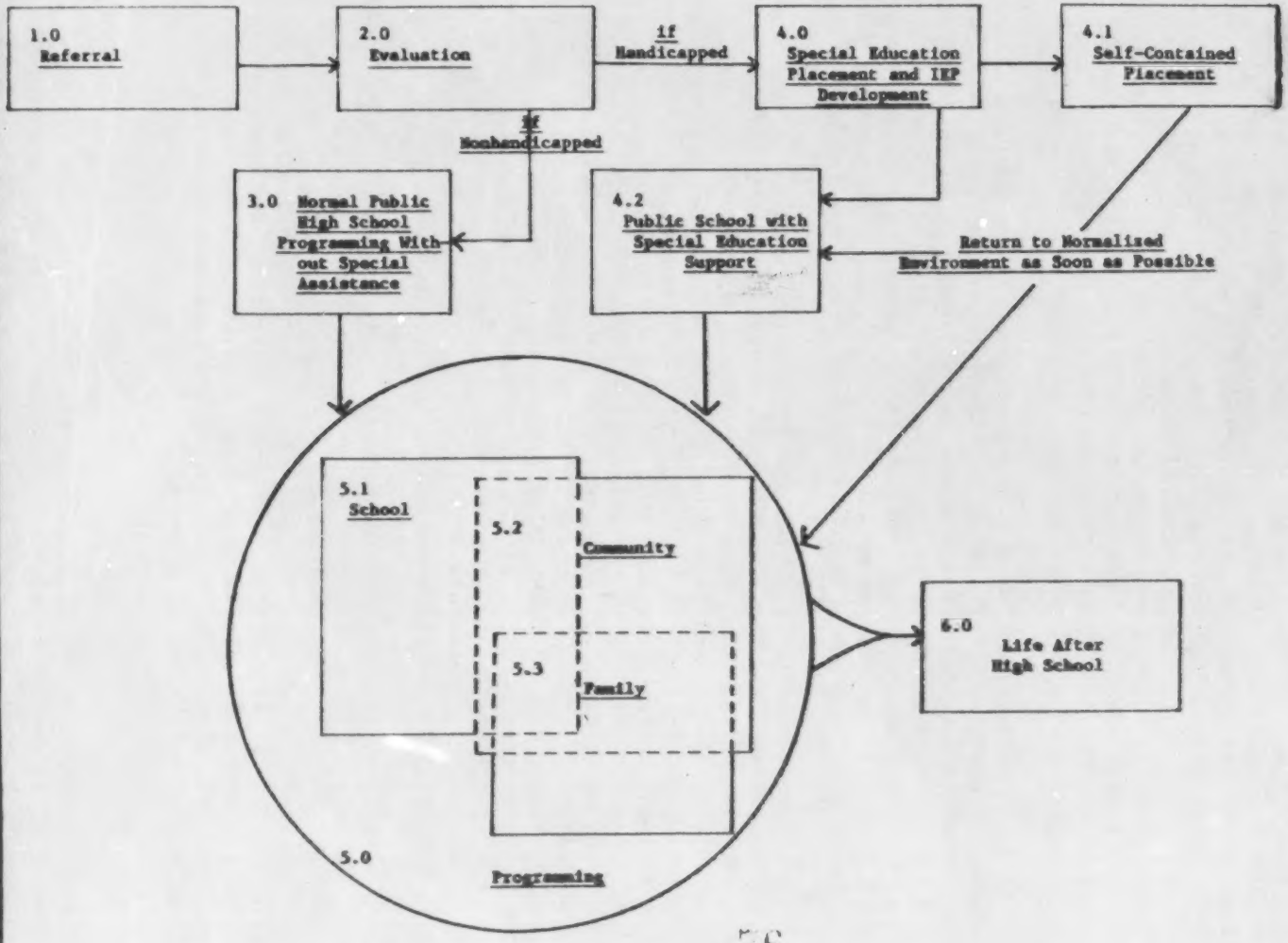
Data from systematic observations are combined with other assessment material to reach the decision that the student is either nonhandicapped and therefore retained in the regular mainstream of education without support (step 3.0), or handicapped and eligible for special services (step 4.0). A decision to declare the student nonhandicapped is based on the judgment that the problems that led to referral had either been alleviated or were considered to be self-remediable and of a temporary nature. The label of *handicapped,* necessary for placement in special services, is given only for purposes of present funding requirements, and not for determination of specific behavioral programming. Additional assessment is necessary to determine programming (Ysseldyke & Regan, 1979). Regardless of which decision is made, the ultimate goal for the youth is positive progress in all environmental settings--school, community, and family--with a minimal amount of stress placed upon the student.

Alternatives for students identified as eligible for special services range from a fully restricted environment (step 4.1) to a variety of placement options in a public school setting (step 4.2). In either case, the intent is to move the student toward a normalized environment as soon as possible. Trial classroom and home interventions are designed to examine the potential success of various techniques. These interventions are recorded, along with their effects, and used as part of the data collection that determines programming.

Developing Objectives

A high initial priority in developing the program for each eligible youth (step 5.0) is setting broad objectives that will establish a trust relationship between the student and resource personnel and will motivate the youth toward positive interaction with the support that is being

FIGURE 1. High School Career Education Model for Behaviorally Disordered Students



offered. If a trust relationship cannot be established, progress is likely to be minimal.

Broad objectives are also intended to structure movement toward behaviors appropriate for the youth's age and situation and to contribute toward successful experiences in home, school, and community situations that are presently dysfunctional. Broad objectives are then broken down into measurable, short-term behavioral objectives. Measurement techniques to evaluate achievement of short-term objectives are designed to give formative direction to programming as well as to provide visible evidence of progress, both for the student and family receiving the support, and for the professionals who are providing it. Recognition of progress and change is not only helpful, but often necessary to reinforce continued intervention efforts.

PROGRAM CONTENT

Choice of program content is drawn from a wide variety of possibilities evaluated in light of each student's strengths and weaknesses. Individual and group training sessions focused on communication techniques for asserting needs and solving problems are often set up. Family sessions, working toward acceptance of role changes in the home, are frequently necessary. Other alternatives include instruction in techniques for delaying impulsive behaviors, eliciting appropriate support from others, stress management, and relaxation.

Academic assistance is provided where necessary. Methods such as modeling, videotaping, and role playing are used to develop and strengthen problem-solving skills. Adult advocates can be assigned to direct and support initial efforts in the community. Peer advocates are frequently trained to support and accompany students on early trials of generalization of skills into settings outside the protection of the special services resource room.

These alternatives are but a few of a wide variety of possible techniques and interventions. Great care must be taken, however, to assure that the personnel selected to provide services are capable and competent. At no time should services be provided by the unexperienced or unqualified who may not be fully aware of the implications of their actions and reactions in working with the identified youth.

When it becomes evident during the process of intervention that the student is ready for self-examination and can begin to generalize newly learned skills and role definitions into settings outside the resource room, specific career education programming can be implemented. Career education curriculum can begin to provide the structure to help students develop their life directions in community and home settings outside the school environment. Personal desires and interests, individual attributes, and the demands of the community underlie the conceptual framework

upon which career education intervention techniques must be built. While this framework is practical for all youth, acquisition of specific career education skills is a critical necessity for those who have been identified as dysfunctional in home, community, and school settings.

A CAREER EDUCATION PERSPECTIVE

The personal, social, academic, and occupational skills necessary for a successful career throughout life are extensive and complex. No single curriculum can touch on all of them in relation to every potential situation the student may encounter. The career education approach outlined in this model is based on the literature in career education, on promising practices in the area of cognitive strategies in education (Alley & Deshler, 1979), and on a series of survey projects in career education (Brown, 1979, Lange & Fender, 1978; SBCCOE, 1980). Attributes selected from these collective sources were found to be common to a broad selection of career possibilities.

An inventory instrument developed by Fender (1980a) is structured on desirable attributes in the context of career development and is used as a diagnostic aid. This inventory is applicable to all youth, but it is particularly useful for behaviorally disordered students, who are frequently deficient in the attribute areas named. The content of the instrument was item-analyzed and subjected to statistical analysis (McEntire, 1980). Content validity was initially determined by responses from employers in a wide variety of businesses of different sizes as well as by experts in the field of career education. Additional research is currently being conducted on both the reliability and validity of the inventory.

The Inventory Instrument

The inventory instrument is a tool for interaction. It is not meant to have the power to label or classify a student in any way. It should not be used until the student is ready for self-examination and has an honest and open relationship with the staff members providing support. A readiness to take responsibility for helping to plan and actualize self-change must exist. This readiness is determined by trial experiences in self-examination that are a part of the student's overall programming.

Used as a diagnostic aid or probe to determine curriculum choices, the inventory provides a basis for contracting with students for activities that are individually designed to meet their specific needs. Presenting all phases of the curriculum to all students is not desirable, since it does not permit the intensity of instruction that is often necessary to change behaviors.

The inventory can also be used as a probe with others who regularly work with the youth (community personnel, family, and teachers) to determine whether acquisition of specific attributes is being generalized across environmental settings. For instance, responses can be sampled in

a variety of environments for such attributes as "works independently," or "asks good questions." Activities that reinforce desired skills can be planned where needed. Data should not be used to draw final conclusions, but only as a communication vehicle and a common sample of behaviors that record interactions in a variety of settings. The eventual goal is to have the perceptions in all settings--home, school, and community--be similar and positive, as well as congruent with the youth's own self-perceptions.

The inventory instrument contains 46 attributes or characteristics in nine major clusters: attendance, work habits, math, reading, spelling, handwriting, interviewing, skill training, and personal characteristics. Examples of the attributes are listed in Figure 2. Two questions are asked of each student in regard to each attribute:

1. Do you see this characteristic as necessary and desirable for being successful in life?
2. Do you see yourself as having this characteristic?

An additional open-ended question ends the inventory: "What do you plan to do when you leave high school? _____ (name of occupation)." Responses to this vocational preference question are acted upon in several ways. If no clear occupational choice is stated, the student might be exposed to filmstrips on occupational clusters to see whether there are areas of potential interest that warrant further exploration. A computer system for job exploration, if available, is a highly useful tool to increase the scope of the alternatives being considered.

If an initial vocational choice is indicated, it should be analyzed in relation to the items on the inventory instrument that reflect training plans and skills. Discrepancies between plans and career choices must be examined further. A student who wishes to become a secretary, for example, needs considerably different skills and training than does a student who wants to become a veterinarian or a custodian. By no means should it be assumed that a particular career choice is final. An attitude of flexibility in relation to a great variety of career options should be maintained at all times by both the student and the program staff. However, if a pattern of discrepancy between a student's skills and his or her plans for continuing education and career choice is consistently noted (Fender, 1980b), this discrepancy must first be removed. Being realistic is an important part of being able to function independently in life after high school.

Curriculum Focus

When a reasonable choice of direction is evident, a variety of experiences may be chosen to stimulate further career exploration. There is no one formula for success. Options include placement in a shadowing program, skill training in a vocational class, library research, discussion of parallel options, field trips, visits by personnel from business and industry, a part-time job placement, or a variety of other choices or combinations of choices.

FIGURE 2

Samples of Attributes Probed in Nine Areas of Inquiry

Attendance

A3 Knows what to do after being absent

Work Habits

W5 Asks questions to clarify tasks
W8 Works independently
W10 Starts task or assignment at expected time

Math

M3 Can do one-digit multiplication/division

Reading

R2 Can read sixth grade material

Spelling

S2 Spells the majority of words correctly

Interviewing

I2 Would be sure to arrive on time for a job interview

Training

T3 Would be willing to participate in skill training during work hours

Personal Characteristics

P2 Dresses similarly to the majority of other people

Programming for both the attributes for employability and exploration of career choices can happen simultaneously. For instance, development of the ability to ask good questions can be practiced while the student is viewing filmstrips exploring occupational clusters. Questioning skills may be practiced in relation to the clusters under examination, and can be purposefully related to other areas such as interviewing skills.

Continual clear generalization of skills as they apply to life situations must take place, and skill applications must occur in all three settings--home, school, and community. It cannot be left to chance or simply assumed that generalization will take place automatically (Carlson, 1980). Specific explanations of the generalization of skills must take place on a continual basis between the student and staff members if the student is expected to eventually apply these skills in life outside the support system.

SUMMARY

A model high school program for behaviorally disordered adolescents must prepare students to function independently in life. Meaningful relationships between what is taught in school and what students will do when they leave the educational system must be an integral part of programming. Care must be taken to assure that staff are competent, knowledgeable, sensitive, and flexible. They must know when to seek additional resources, how to seek information on intervention techniques and career education innovations, and must be good decision makers. Career education is infused on a structured basis across all three settings--family, school, and community. Frequent communication between settings assures coordinated movement toward goals in all environments.

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PROJECT PISCES: AN EXPERIENTIAL APPROACH

Thomas S. Simek

In attempting an authentic restoration of an old stone farmhouse within the limitations of practicality and my own physical and financial resources, I have marveled at and cherished the technology and craftsmanship representative of the period. Similarly, as an educator, I continue to examine, evaluate, and marvel at the goals and achievements that have occurred to date on behalf of special education students. In both of these situations, I try to fulfill my expectations, avoid being consumed by my goals, and yet be adventurous. With proper planning and a degree of luck, I also try to identify others who share my interests and my experiences. I wish to tap the resources of these friendly old masters in stone masonry and in education, seeking the unwritten guidance they possess.

Restoring a tenuous structure is not only time-consuming and strenuous, but often frustrating. As a result, the fulfillment of my need for gratification is greatly prolonged. I wonder how many of our special education students feel the same way. As we encounter other people in day-to-day situations throughout our lives, each of us receives labels—spoken or unspoken, written or unwritten. In one situation we may be perceived as "friendly," "kind," or "honest," yet in another, we are considered "frustrated," "aggressive, " "hyperactive," "depressed," "behavior disordered," or even "possessing unsatisfactory interpersonal skills." Any honest homeowner can at some point identify with one or more of these labels in his efforts to maintain or remodel a home.

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After years of mandated compulsory labor on a structure that one questions as being worthy of so much energy and anxiety, an individual may finally reach the limits of tolerance and emphatically proclaim, "Junk the building!" Homeowners who make such a statement may be targets of criticism, friendly assistance, or empathy, but students who utter it are generally thrust into the category of behavior disordered. It is at this point that their frustrations, unfulfilled needs, and inability to truly learn make them "disruptive youth," "incorrigible," "delinquent," or "persons in need of supervision."

THE SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

Experiencing our own frustrations as educators and living daily with the turmoil of our students, a number of teachers in the Learning and Adjustment Program of the Montgomery County Intermediate Unit #23 in Norristown, Pennsylvania, decided to explore, on a continuous basis, alternatives available to our students, who were diagnosed as socially and emotionally disturbed and/or learning disabled. As our exploration progressed, we were rudely awakened to the realization that these students were not only totally frustrated and often condemned because of their age and other limitations, but also that their needs could not be comfortably accommodated in regular education, special education, or vocational education programs. In addition, they were either uneducated or unsophisticated in the realities of the world of work. They were just beginning to realize that in a short period of time they would be expected to be self-sufficient contributors to society and to be assimilated, as we all are, into the American work force.

It was with this realization that the Career Education Committee of the Learning and Adjustment Program began to struggle with the question: "What is most beneficial for these youngsters, and how can we as educators provide them with the necessary skills to survive constructively in today's society?" Individually, each member of the committee confessed that there were certain specific concepts and skills they felt were important, advantageous for their students to acquire, and capable of being mastered. At this point, ideas, methods, and materials were quickly exchanged. Curriculum materials were requested from all over the country, and were literally torn apart and reconstructed to meet the needs of individual students. As the committee members began to develop a basic instinct for what they felt was most useful for their students, they glimpsed the basis for seeking possible funding for a program servicing this unique group of youngsters.

Just as the committee came to terms with what they perceived to be viable curriculum materials and ways of helping students, our country entered an economic period that threatened to clog the wheels of progress for our students. Confronting all of us were the realities of an erratic economy with skyrocketing mortgages, rising interest rates, and limited accessibility to an unstable job market. While we were trying to teach our students everyday living skills, many individuals already in the job

market were struggling for simple survival. Thousands of adolescents already out there in society at large were visibly suffering the effects of their previous difficulties with personal, school, and community relationships. Some of our students were personally acquainted with individuals who were losing their jobs, homes, or automobiles, or who were forced to take out loans to keep up with debts and personal expenses.

These observations frightened our students and jolted their parents, teachers, school administrators, and prospective and actual employers. Would or could our students succeed in such an economic climate, or would they become dependent or destructive elements in our social fabric? These economic events did not alter our commitment to provide programs for our students, but they did intensify the urgency for implementation and for seeking sources of financial assistance. In addition, they added the realistic dimension of student preparation for entry into an unstable economy and employment market.

PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Possible funding sources were investigated and a continuous evaluation process was initiated to begin to program for the needs of our special students. In August, 1978, an ESEA Title IV-C grant was awarded to the Montgomery County Intermediate Unit entitled Project PISCES: A Pilot Infusion System for Career Experiential Studies. Project PISCES staff began to gather information to identify student needs, determine their relationship to the job market, and discover whether the two could possibly be coordinated in some logical manner.

Four major objectives were identified for Project PISCES:

- To develop a career experiential education curriculum.
- To develop a monitored, supportive, career oriented work-study program.
- To develop a Community Resource Guide identifying those individuals, companies, and corporations in the immediate community who were willing to work with individuals or groups of students, and who might also be willing to offer apprenticeships.
- To provide inservice training on an ongoing basis for regular and special education teachers, administrators, parents, and employers on work orientation and its relation to education.

ADMISSION PROCEDURES

During county-wide inservice programs for teachers in the Learning Adjustment Program and the learning disabilities program, Project PISCES staff described the career experiential education curriculum, the Community Resource Guide, the inservice programs, the career oriented work-study program, and the referral process. The staff also visited each secondary class in those two special programs to present a similar

inservice to the students. The classroom teachers were then given copies of the career experiential education curriculum.

As the class progresses through the curriculum, the teacher and the other support individuals (e.g., the social worker, psychiatrist/psychologist, master itinerant teacher, or principal) may identify a student who could possibly benefit from the work experience component of Project PISCES. Individual students themselves may feel, as they move through the curriculum, that they have a basic knowledge of its contents and are ready to enter the world of work. If so, they may express this desire to their teacher. At this point, after further discussion with the student, the support teach, the student's parents, and regular education teachers who work with the student in mainstreamed classes, a formal referral to the work experience component of Project PISCES may be made. In some instances, the teacher may inform the project staff that a possible referral may be made and request that the Field Director assist in preparing the student for this next phase. Often this preparation consists of a contract between the teacher and student stressing such areas as improving attendance, perfecting academic performance, or improving behavior.

CURRICULUM COMPONENT

The career experiential education curriculum offers students the opportunity to evaluate their personal abilities, explore possible job opportunities, and, if appropriate, successfully venture, with support, into the job market. Through the sequentially developed program, students evaluate their individual skills, learn to task-analyze jobs, find out the requirements of general and specific occupations, and learn what is expected of them as employees.

The curriculum is divided into six areas: self-awareness, career awareness, decision-making, educational awareness, vocational skill identification, and employability skills. It is intended primarily as a guide to instruction, and modifications are not only expected but encouraged. Its availability is intended to reduce teacher preparation time. The teacher explores career areas with the entire class, and may proceed from there to choose those in which one or more students may need further exposure and reinforcement. Ready-made curriculum materials, lessons, sources of reference, and sequential objectives to be taught with built-in measing devices are all available. The curriculum, although thorough, is still only a guide for the teacher and student. Individualization is the key to the benefits the student receives.

The curriculum is standardized to include instructional components such as introductory vocabulary lists, career oriented stories and experiences, and activity sheets. These materials are readily available to teachers in the form of three large looseleaf notebooks. In addition to developed lesson plans, ditto masters are provided to carry out suggested activities. Specific suggestions for field trips and resource speakers are included. A listing of audiovisual materials and publications

locally available through companies, corporations, schools, universities, libraries, and the Regional Resource Center has also been compiled.

The sequential curriculum provides a vehicle for task-analyzing specific occupations from a reality base as they apply directly to the individual student. Moving from a broad exploration of the world of work to the identification of specific job requirements, students begin to comprehend the complexity of our society and the interrelationships and interdependencies that exist within it. The concrete realities of the school settings are linked to similarities in the world of work. For example, a student may be asked to evaluate the relationship between school attendance and consistent attendance at the work site. Students also become familiar with the work-oriented meaning of words such as *dependable*, *reliable*, and *knowledgeable*. All too often, special education students are accustomed to hearing the antithesis of such words, and are all too familiar with the prefix "un-."

As an evaluation and measuring device both for the students and for improvement of the curriculum itself, students are required to submit specific career education assignments to the teacher. Those that are directly relevant and critical to obtaining and maintaining a job are kept in a student notebook. Encouragingly, the value of these notebooks has been confirmed by students who used them actively once they graduated or terminated their formal education program.

While the curriculum has been designed to instill in each student an appreciation for the American work ethic, it does not promote reflexive conformity. Rather, it offers avenues for searching out acceptable alternatives, identifying opportunities, and determining how these relate to a student's capabilities and future desires. In this context, job satisfaction, self-satisfaction, and the constructive use of leisure time are all explored.

Often the major role model for our students is not the successful, capable worker, but the much more visible pimp who has a new, impressive automobile, considerable money, and companionship, or the legally unqualified welfare recipient who has no desire to enter the work force. The curriculum emphasizes that although money, material goods, and pleasures are readily available to certain segments of our society, their availability must be weighed against the consequences involved and the individual's position in relation to family, friends, and community acceptance. Our students are exposed to the fact that society is tolerant to a point and that they must realize the extent of those limits.

WORK EXPERIENCE COMPONENT

After an application for the work experience component of the project is received by Project PISCES staff, the Field Director makes an appointment with the student, his or her teacher, and parent(s). At this

meeting, and subsequent ones, concerns are expressed, information is exchanged, required forms are completed, and the student's interests and abilities further explored. The Field Director can then begin the process of matching the student with a particular job. Factors such as available transportation and the proximity of the student's school or home to the work site must be considered. Project PISCES has relied on students and parents providing direct transportation to the work site, as well as local school district and public transportation. Additional considerations include the student's work release time, the type and amount of school credit to be received for the work experience program, and the successful completion of other coursework needed for graduation.

All of these factors, plus the necessity of keeping the Field Director's work load realistic, may impede acceptance into the work experience portion of the project at a particular time. Even then, if a student is acceptable to the work experience program, Project PISCES will explore all avenues to insure the student the opportunity to participate in a supportive work experience program. These avenues of exploration include the student's parents, school district of residence, other cooperative education or work experience programs operating in the district, and public agencies.

When an appropriate job has been identified for a particular student, the individualized education program (IEP) is changed to reflect the addition, and a contract is developed and formalized with the student, parent, employer, and school district representative. Basic to the contract are the requirements that necessary coursework for graduation be completed and that school attendance be regular. Should either of these areas become a problem that cannot be resolved, the student will be discontinued from the work experience component and returned to the classroom for further remediation. Possibly at a later date the student could be returned to the work experience program, but must at that time apply as a new student, which necessitates recapitulation through the entire process. Often by this time the student realizes that his position has been filled by someone else and that numerous students are awaiting the student/job matching process. The project is supportive and encouraging to the student, but is also reality oriented.

When the project initially began operation, the Field Director often had to "beat the pavement" in search of job openings. By the third year, however, openings had been identified in a number of different areas. Former employers began to request additional students and refer our program to their business associates or to the owner of the establishment next door. Project staff were also contacted by students in the program who refer their fellow students, note openings where they are employed, or tell us about want ads in the newspaper or a position posted in their schools. These student referrals often serve to confirm and reinforce staff commitment to the program.

COMMUNITY RESOURCE GUIDE

The Community Resource Guide identifies by geographical location individuals, companies, and corporations willing to promote inservice programs for our students. These may be conducted on an individual or small group basis, at the work site or at the school, depending on the preference of the resource individual. Requests and arrangements for inservice programs are coordinated through the Field Director. Prior to the visitation, classroom discussions focus on general work responsibilities and those specific to the occupation to be represented. As the inservice speaker makes his presentation, students are expected to take notes and respond to questions and assignments as designated in their individual student notebooks.

A second purpose of the Community Resource Guide is to identify those individuals and companies willing to supervise a student on a particular work site within their organization. The Federal Tax Credit, P.L. 95-600, Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC) is often an additional incentive to employers, but, in the project's experience, never a major causal force in a decision to hire one of our students. Most often, employers recognize and take advantage of the tax credit opportunity only *after* they have already agreed to support one of the project's students.

Employers who are willing to hire a youngster on a part-time basis and who are encouraged by the project's support system become extremely involved with the program as a whole as well as with their particular employee. They can identify with the first work experience of a student and often promote additional exposure and opportunity for our students. One attraction to the project is the distinctive fact that the employer, as a member of the supportive group, sees himself as a representative of the work world with direct influence on the educational process for a particular youngster. Although this commitment increases the employers' level of responsibility, the majority recognize its value and have commented that a similar program would have been extremely beneficial to them in their own educational pursuits.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

In addition to becoming a member of a support team for an individual student, each employer is invited to join the project's Advisory Council, which meets on a monthly basis and focuses on the task of developing career-oriented programs for students. This Advisory Council is essential for internal evaluation and general program planning. It supplies expert input into the curriculum, fosters general awareness campaigns, and, at the completion of each academic year, hosts a Student/Employer Recognition Dinner. Representation on the Advisory Council includes teachers, employers, parents, public and private school administrators, master itinerant teachers, and Project PISCES staff. Unlike most advisory councils that simply issue a stamp of approval, this Council has direct input into programmatic decisions.

INSERVICE

Project PISCES inservice programs are provided to regular and special education teachers, parents, students, school administrators, and community organizations. Providing inservice for each of these groups is critical to the success of the students and the project. Inservice programs may take the form of group presentations or individual explanations. Through presentations to civic groups, for example, Project PISCES staff hope to encourage individuals to become supporting employers and to be listed in the Community Resource Guide. Concurrently, Project PISCES has become an information agent and advocate for all exceptional individuals. A great many people believe that youngsters who are identified as "exceptional" or "handicapped" are also "substandard." Through the dissemination of information, but even more concretely by the direct employment of one of our students, the project is beginning to make employers and their employees aware that a disability in one area does not mean deficiency in all areas.

All teachers are made aware of the project at an opening inservice session at the beginning of the academic year. At departmental meetings, more details regarding services, eligibility, and the referral process are provided for teachers in the Learning and Adjustment Program and the Learning Disabilities Program. As the year progresses and referrals are made, the Field Director may conduct individual or group meetings with teachers whose students have been referred to the work experience program. The curriculum is further delineated, the support system defined, and the responsibilities of the teachers and other team members explained.

STUDENT SUPPORT SYSTEM

None of the program components would be effective if they were not reinforced by the concept of a student support system. The student is the focal point of this system and is monitored, evaluated, and supported by a team consisting of Project PISCES staff, the student's parents and family, teacher, teaching assistant, employer, regular education teachers, social worker, and peers.

Anyone having direct contact with youngsters realizes the tremendous influence of their peers. As an entire class progresses, at various stages, through the career experiential education curriculum, the one or two students from the class who are now successfully participating in the work experience program often receive a higher status than held previously. Also very noticeable to their classmates is the fact that these students attend school for half a day, work the other half, and now have *money*.

The support system provides the student with someone he or she can talk to about both school and work situations. Through the efforts of the teacher and support team, the entire class can be guided to encourage the working student. Once the student overcomes the possible paranoia of feeling "watched" by everyone around him, and realizes that this support

is for his benefit, he, too, becomes a participating member of the team. Most importantly, probably for the first time in a long time, and probably for the first time with such magnitude, the student feels successful and proud of himself.

With the student now in this new elevated position, it is the responsibility of the support team to help him or her remain there. It is the responsibility of each team member to evaluate and encourage the total support system. Without knowledge of how the student is functioning in academic, social, familial, and work-related situations, the team is faced with a serious lack of information. This gap must not be allowed to develop. Should such a gap be perceived, another member of the support team should be assigned the responsibility of filling the void. Pertinent information regarding the working student is exchanged in numerous ways, including phone calls, group meetings, forms and letters, and direct communications made by the Field Director. Occasionally, team meetings become a social occasion, as exemplified by the Student/Employer Recognition Dinner. Even though the dinner is held at the end of the academic year, the program itself is a 12-month program extending into the summer.

A goal of the entire support team is to foster student development focusing on realistic occupational growth while also exercising prudent judgment so as to refrain from reinforcing negative student behavior. It is not beneficial to the student, for example, when one member of the team fails to communicate, conceals perceptions of negative student behavior, or empathizes with the student to the point of pity. Some of our students have learned by experience to exploit such a situation. Team members must remain constantly alert to their own behavior and its impact on student behavior.

Venturing into the experienced work force is extremely tenuous for anyone. With a support system of this kind, a student can more comfortably begin to experiment with and experience occupational alternatives. The inherent responsibility of each member of such a support system can be appreciable, but the rewards more than compensate individuals for their endeavors.

PROJECT CONSUMMATION

Before completing its 3½ year ESEA Title IV-C funding on December 14, 1981, Project PISCES established the internal objective of delineating and disseminating the principles inherent in the project. A successful curriculum was developed that presents to a behavior disordered student a sequential plan through which he is able to begin to comprehend the complexities of the world of work, as well as his own abilities, interests, and opportunities. This curriculum has provided a source of help for teachers who are working energetically to assist behavior disordered students who will soon be ready to enter the work force.

Project PISCES has confirmed the necessity and the value of a student support system if the student is to achieve successful independence. It has also recognized that such a support team can be developed through thoughtful planning and cohesive efforts. The project's awareness campaign continues to be directed toward the community to help individuals and groups realize that the word "handicapped" does not mean "useless," that there are degrees of handicapping conditions, and that the majority of handicapped persons can be gainfully employed.

Through the inclusion of project objectives in the student's IEP, educators are beginning to reevaluate present educational programs and are trying to determine how students can best contribute to society, benefit from and enjoy their labor, and experience the value of relaxation and independence.

Just as time, perseverence, support, considerable effort, and the guidance of old masters has greatly improved and enhanced the old stone farmhouse, Project PISCES has offered a successful alternative to behaviorally disordered youngsters. As a direct result of its success, coupled with local organizational support after the expiration of federal funding, Project PISCES has now become the model for services provided to exceptional students through two more programs within the Montgomery County Intermediate Unit. The principles inherent in Project PISCES continue to be reinforced through Project PRIDE (Program for Reaching Independence Through Discovery of Employment) and Project SALES (Special Adolescents Learning, Experiencing, Succeeding).

Project PISCES was designed to be a practical, cost-effective program that would require minimal funds, be easily replicated, and would not lie dormant in the storerooms of education. The success of our students is testimony to the success of the total project.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CAREER EDUCATION

Stanley F. Vasa

> It is unnecessary to revisit the already proven axiom that parents are effective change agents in the lives of exceptional children. It is perhaps equally as extravagant to indulge in outlining the boundaries of social and academic learning and perpetuate the pseudo-issue of who governs which set of constructs, when in reality these are shared and interactive responsibilities. We must instead face an important issue in the third quarter of the twentieth century: parents are moving physically and intellectually back into the mainstream of American education. (Clements & Alexander, 1975, p. 1)

The development of effective career education programs needs to include the active participation of the parent (Brolin & Kokaska, 1979). Educators will profit from a careful examination of the important role parents can play in the education of their children and the ways in which parents can contribute to the future adjustment of the behaviorally disordered student in the work world.

The schools alone are not the sole source, nor even the first choice by students, for obtaining career education information. Aubrey (1977), in summarizing data collected by the National Assessment of Education Progress, reported that very few 13-year-olds looked upon the classroom teacher or counselor as particularly helpful in learning about careers. He stated further that career development programs are in serious trouble if they are designed to be carried out primarily by teachers and counselors.

Data gathered by Katz, Miller-Tiedeman, Osipow, and Tiedeman (1977) showed that parents were likely to be the first individuals consulted about career plans. Their results showed that in less than 25% of cases was the school counselor consulted first and in fewer than 50% of cases was the counselor consulted even once. Teachers appeared to have even less impact in career decisions, since they were consulted at least once by fewer than 25% of those surveyed. Parental participation in career

education for the behaviorally disordered is thus a potentially critical dimension of the students' total educational program.

PARENTS' ROLE IN CAREER EDUCATION

Parents can serve as models, teachers, advocates, and motivators in helping their children attain career education objectives. Each of these roles will be explored in the following sections.

Parents as Models

The inadequacy of the "do-as-I-say-not-as-I-do" approach underscores the important role parents play as models. The objectives of career education are not solely cognitive, but also involve the development of values, attitudes, and habits in which modeling plays a substantial part.

Parents serve as models for their children in the attitudes and behaviors they exhibit in relation to their own employment. Their daily actions and conversation may play a key role in the development of student attitudes. Parents' lifestyle and desired lifestyle may also influence career decision-making on the part of the child.

Bandura (1969) pointed out three variables that influence a child's susceptibility to social facilitation: (a) observer's characteristics; (b) reinforcement contingencies associated with matching behavior; and (c) the attributes of the model in the particular setting. In their powerful role as models, parents teach a number of important concepts and skills, including the following:

- Appropriate emotional reactions
- Novel behaviors and/or skills
- Behaviors already in the individual's repertoire
- Social change in an individual or group
- Focusing attention to appropriate cues

Parents as Teachers

Parents represent a continuous resource that can augment the school's capabilities. Their vested physiological and psychological interest in the child increases the likelihood that they will expend the additional time and energy needed to support and extend the teaching activities of the school.

Parents can more effectively support their child's education if they are equipped with information about appropriate goals and teaching techniques. A number of studies have shown that parents can be successfully trained as behavior therapists for their own children (Johnson & Katz, 1973). There is no doubt that, regardless of what the school does, parents do teach their children. The school is in a position to provide

information that makes parents more effective teachers. Parents can also assist the school when they are helped to understand, evaluate, and implement the teaching plan.

Parents are in a particularly advantageous position to use outside opportunities to expand their child's education. "Life at home is the real world," and it includes a potentially broader and more valid experience base than does the classroom setting. Parents generally have greater access to work-related experiences and values in the context of family activities. In addition, Johnson and Katz note that parents have a more powerful impact on their child's behavior than the school because the child generally spends more time in the home.

Parents as Advocates

Parents are the long-term advocates of their children. Although the school and individual teachers may take a great deal of interest in a particular child, this interest is generally maintained only while the student is enrolled in a particular teacher's class or in a particular school.

The function of the advocacy role is to ensure that the child's best interests are being taken into consideration by the agencies serving him or her. Kahn, Kamerman, and McGowan (1972) defined child advocacy as intervention on behalf of children in relation to those services and institutions that affect their lives. Parents of handicapped children commonly assume an active role as advocates in the following ways:

- Contributing to the development and monitoring of the child's individualized education program.
- Suggesting modifications in school programs.
- Providing coordination between the school and outside agencies providing services.
- Identifying community programs and experiences that will benefit the child.

Parents as Motivators

Behavioral and ecological approaches to behavior disorders have recognized the importance of antecedents and consequences to a child's behavior. Parents are in a position to be particularly effective in encouraging changes in behavior and knowledge by engineering these antecedents and consequences, both on their own intiative and in conjunction with school programs.

Parents have a greater array of potential rewards for student behaviors than the school does, and these rewards can be greater as well as more meaningful to the child. For example, consider the following points:

- A larger percentage of the child's time at home is spent in free time activity.

- Parents' use of reinforcers can be more flexible and effective than those that are feasible in the school setting, where the constraints of limited time and types of activities are operative.
- Parents have control of physiological reinforcers, such as food.
- Parents and other family members have greater opportunity to use verbal praise as a reinforcer.
- Parents are providers of material resources by which a child enhances self-esteem, such as entertainment.

HOW SCHOOLS CAN ASSIST PARENTS

In order to fulfill these four roles, particularly in connection with career education programs, parents can benefit from varying types of assistance. The school, and educators in particular, can provide help in four major areas (Shea, 1978):

1. Continued support in dealing with personal feelings about their exceptional child.
2. Knowledge of child development and principles and practices of child rearing.
3. Knowledge and training in content methods and sequences of learning which will most effectively help children reach their potential.
4. Knowledge and training in behavior management principles and practices.

As a starting point in developing a parent program, three basic components should be explored (Brown, 1980): (a) information questions; (b) parent skill development; and (c) personal and social needs of parents themselves. Informational questions may address such queries as "What happens at the IEP conference?" "What tests will be administered to my child?" "What will I have to do to obtain services for my child?" Figure 1 illustrates common career information needs of parents.

Skill areas which might be helpful to parents include active listening, tutoring skills, handling stress and frustration, and working with other professionals. The personal-social needs of parents of behaviorally disordered children are particularly important. These may include having someone who will listen, having time away from the child, and having help in dealing with feelings of guilt and blame toward others.

For the purpose of examining these types of assistance, parent involvement in career education for the behaviorally disordered child is here viewed from three perspectives: (a) type of involvement; (b) primary function of involvement; and (c) level of involvement.

Type of Parent Involvement

The type of parent involvement in career education programs is a function of activities in which parents and schools can logically cooperate or exchange information or ideas. Written communications, telephone conversations, parent-teacher associations, home visits, parent/school visitations, IEP placement meetings, parent-teacher conferences, advisory councils, and individual and group skill training are all possible ways of involving parents in the education of their behaviorally disordered child.

Primary Function of Involvement

It is important for the educator to identify the purpose of parent involvement and the potential benefit to the parent of any planned activity. The six primary functions of the parent program component are as follows:

Information. Knowledge is exchanged and facts transmitted concerning the student's progress, overall program, or possible intervention strategies.

Problem solving. Parents and educators have the opportunity to mutually resolve issues confronting the student and to plan future changes in programming.

Association. Parents have the opportunity to relate to other parents or meaningful others and to become acquainted with the issues and problems they confront.

Skill attainment. Parents receive direct training to help their children in career decision-making functions.

Mutual intervention. A coordinated program for the student is planned and implemented through the joint efforts of the parent and school.

Emotional support. Through all of these activities, emotional support is provided to help parents relieve their feelings of guilt, failure, and possible frustration with services provided their child.

Levels of Parent Involvement

Three levels of involvement (minimal, moderate, and extensive) reflect the amount of input and commitment required by the parent. Minimal involvement activities include acceptance of written communications, telephone communications, parent-teacher associations, home visits, and parent-school visitations. Moderate involvement programs require more activity such as attendance at placement staffing meetings, parent-teacher conferences, and crisis intervention meetings. Extensive involvement programs require the parent to become a partner in the educational program and to assume some of the responsibilities traditionally seen as the school's. Examples of extensive parent involvement programs

include specific skill attainment activities, individual skill training, and parent advocacy. Table 1 provides a representative, sample listing of parents' level of involvement by primary function and type of involvement. It is suggestive rather than all-inclusive.

CONCERNS IN DEVELOPING AND DELIVERING PARENT PROGRAMS

The parents of children who are classified as behaviorally disordered are a diverse group. They may share many of the same feelings of guilt, frustration, and disappointment, but their personalities and interests differ widely. Thus, generalities about personality characteristics will not be helpful in the development of programs.

Brown (1980) pointed out that these parents frequently repeat patterns of behavior that have proven to be unsuccessful in the past in intervening with their children. These repetitions of unsuccessful behavior can include dealings with the school system, other agencies, and personal relationships.

Parental Noninvolvement

Teachers frequently express the common concern that parents are not interested in or are reluctant to become involved in school programs, parent-teacher conferences, IEP staffings, and other attempts by the school to achieve parent participation. Vasa and Steckelberg (1980) reported that although schools may perceive lack of parent participation as reluctance, it is rarely the result of a don't-care attitude. A negative reaction to schools and resulting lack of involvement is more likely due to a combination of other factors based on parents' emotional reactions and past experiences with schools and school personnel.

Consider the emotional reactions of parents and how these may contribute to parent-school interaction. Love (1970) suggested that parents' reactions to having a handicapped child frequently follow a typical sequence of shock, denial, guilt, bitterness, envy, rejection, and adjustment. Parents of the behaviorally disordered child may find that adjustment to their child's behavior is more difficult than for other parents.

Reluctance to become involved in their child's education may also result from past experiences with the school and school personnel. Illustrative of such experiences are the following:

- Schools may represent the place parents go to hear about their child's shortcoming and failures.
- Past suggestions concerning behavioral interventions may have been unrealistic or unworkable.
- Promises may have been made and broken.
- Teachers may be seen as judgmental authority figures.

TABLE 1

Analysis of Parent Involvement

Types of Involvement	Primary Function	Level of Involvement
Written Communications newsletters written notes to home report cards placement & IEP reports	Information	Minimal
Telephone Communications	Information/ Problem Solving	Minimal
Parent Teacher Association	Information Association	Minimal
Home Visits	Information Skill Attainment Mutual Intervention Emotional Support	Minimal
Parent School Visitations	Information	Minimal
IEP and Placement Meetings	Information Problem Solving	Minimal/Moderate
Parent Teacher Conference	Information Problem Solving	Minimal/Moderate
Crisis Intervention Meeting Behavior Contract	Information Problem Solving Mutual Intervention	Moderate
Advisory Council	Problem Solving	Moderate
Parent Classroom Participation	Information Skill Acquisition	Moderate/Extensive
Joint Teacher/Parent Advocacy	Acquisition of Outside Services/Problem Solving	Moderate/Extensive
Individual Skill Training Individual counseling	Information Skill Attainment Mutual Intervention Emotional Support	Extensive
Group Skill Training Assertiveness Parenting Behavior management	Information Skill Attainment	Moderate/Extensive

- Professionals have referred the parents to an endless number of other professionals who, in turn, have referred them to more professionals.
- School personnel may have misinterpreted parents' motives in seeking answers to questions about their child's educational program. This questioning may have been perceived as a personal attack on the individual teacher.
- Parents may have found it difficult to articulate their concerns adequately to the educator.

These experiences, coupled with those at home with the behaviorally disordered child, may leave parents apprehensive, frustrated, angry, and convinced that the school isn't going to do much anyway or that what the parents think will not be considered in making decisions. The end result may be that parents perceive the school in much the same way that the public tends to perceive all governmental institutions—i.e., as massive and unresponsive to their needs. In establising parent programs, the educator should realize that parents are a product of their past and that they have definite beliefs and values which they bring to parent-school activities.

Teacher Characteristics

The personality of the teacher plays an active role in determining whether or not the experience for the parent will be positive and productive. The following teacher characteristics tend to increase the likelihood of continuing parent involvement:

Interest. Parents perceive the teacher as willing to give time and attention to their concerns.

Acceptance. By words, gestures, and body language, the teacher demonstrates that he or she respects what the parent is saying and is not assuming a judgmental role.

Empathy. The teacher demonstrates an ability to understand the role of the parent and its associated meaning.

Rapport. A condition of comfort exists between the parents and the teacher, allowing the parents to feel free to express themselves without fear of criticism or negative repercussions.

Honesty. Information provided by the teacher, whether positive or negative, is as accurate and realistic as possible.

Effective listening. The teacher truly listens to what the parent is saying and can interpret it correctly.

Objectivity. Teachers discuss students in terms of behaviors rather than emotionally laden generalities.

Ethics. Parents recognize that the teacher will treat information shared as confidential and will use it only for the direct benefit of the child.

Knowledge. Teachers demonstrate a knowledge of programs of instruction, available resources, and agencies, as well as familiarity with the individual student's strengths and weaknesses.

Dependability/responsibility. The teacher demonstrates a willingness to keep commitments and follow through on proposed actions.

Organization. The teacher demonstrates the ability to state objectives for meetings, make decisions, and gather necessary materials and information in advance.

ORGANIZIN THE PARENT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Specifying program goals is the initial step in establishing a program for parents of behaviorally disordered children. A parent program is more effective if its goals are manageable, pragmatic, and focus on maximizing the parents' ability to assist their child effectively. These goals may relate directly to assisting parents with specific aspects of career education information (see Figure 1) or may relate to other concerns of individuals or groups of parents.

Needs Assessment

After the parameters of the program have been established, the next step is the assessment of the degree to which the intended participants have achieved the established goals. The purpose of the needs assessment is to identify the specific program elements that the participating parents will require. Parents are asked to respond to a series of statements about what they perceive as their need for information or assistance. The instrument may be written or in an interview form. In addition:

1. The instrument should be brief, and should require no more than ten minutes to complete.
2. Items should be objective rather than subjective, and should be stated clearly and concisely.
3. Items should require reactions to statements rather than open-ended questions. The use of a Likert rating scale is recommended.
4. Items should be oriented toward how the parents can help their children in the career development process rather than toward the parents themselves.

The needs assessment also benefits the teacher by helping to identify parent expectations and by providing a baseline from which to compare post-assessment of participants' skill or knowledge.

FIGURE 1

Questions Parents Have About Career Education

I. What is career education?

- A. Definition of career education
- B. Rationale for emphasis in school and home
- C. Basic theory of career development process
- D. Components of a career education program
  1. decision-making/problem-solving skills
  2. values, habits, and attitudes
  3. knowledge and skills
  4. occupational information
  5. community/leisure time information
  6. human relations skills
  7. daily living skills
  8. compensation skills

II. How can parents support their child's education in school?

- A. Rationale for parent's commitment to their child's education
- B. Federal and state legislation relevant to the education of handicapped individuals
- C. Parent's rights
- D. Parent's role as a resource to the school
- E. Parent's role in the IEP

III. How can parents enhance their child's career development at home?

- A. Career development goals and objectives
- B. Stages of career development
- C. Activities and techniques to aid in the achievement of the goals
- D. Relationship to school activities

IV. How can parents support their child in the job selection and procurement process?

- A. Identifying legal rights of the handicapped in employment and business compliance with applicable legislation
- B. Knowing of available services to aid in the job selection and procurement process
- C. Assessing readiness for work
- D. Identifying available jobs
- E. Identifying employment assets and job skills
- F. Identifying the skills and assets in which the employer is interested
- G. Presenting assets and skills to the potential employer
- H. Suggesting accommodations to the potential employer
- I. Following up on the application
- J. Selecting important first steps after getting a job

V. What are information resources for parents in the career development process?

- A. Advocacy and professional organizations
- B. Service organizations
- C. Federal agencies
- D. State agencies
- E. Local parent groups

Program Plan and Delivery

Table 1 delineates a number of types of parent involvement. The teacher may choose to infuse some of the elements of the program with those of more general school information, or may choose to designate particular activities focused specifically on career education. Group procedures that focus on career education are warranted when the needs assessment reveals that a number of parents have a common need for this information. Infusion may prove to be a more expedient choice when approaches such as parent visitations, placement and IEP staffings, and individual conferences are used.

Regardless of the combination of approaches chosen, it is important that the program coordinator establish a plan for program delivery. This plan should delineate what activities will take place, what material will be available, how the activities will be presented, who will be responsible for their presentation, where they will be conducted, and how the parents will be informed of the activities.

Program Evaluation

Evaluation is undertaken for two major reasons: first, to determine the effectiveness of the program in meeting its objectives, and second, to obtain information that will be useful in making future planning decisions.

The goal of any educational program is to bring about some change in human attitudes, knowledge, or performance. A parent education program expects to produce these kinds of positive change, as well as to have an impact on the children whose parents participate.

A wide variety of dependent measures and measurement devices can be used to collect information. Table 2 lists several possible alternatives for data gathering in the context of broad objectives for change. The exact means of collecting information should be chosen based upon cost, the value of data collected, and its feasibility within the school.

SUMMARY

In planning parent-school activities, educators should recognize that while parents of behaviorally disordered children may have similar needs, these similarities do not always permit generalizations about the types of parent involvement programs that would be most appropriate. An important element to be considered in arranging parent activities is to identify the individual needs of parents and then to develop activities for groups of parents with similar needs and interests.

TABLE 2

Evaluation of Parent Education Program

Parameter	Dependent Measures	Data Gathering Technique
Parents' Increase in Knowledge	Attainment of knowledge objectives, i.e., what is covered, parents' school relationships, parents' role in the home, etc.	Pre-post assessment Observations Self-assessment scale Interviews Questionnaires
Parents' Change in Attitudes	Change in attitudes toward child rearing; change in attitude toward career ed.; change in attitude toward school, etc.	Questionnaires Opinionnaires Rating Scales Interviews
Parents' Behavior	Involvement in the education process, i.e., cooperation with the school parent/child involvement	Attendance rosters Teacher observations Interaction analysis Anecdotal records Records of parent school contacts
Child's Behavior	Increase in knowledge or performance in related areas, i.e., career options, values, attitudes, habits, decision making, etc.	School attendance Test data IEP objectives Sociometrics Observations Teacher records

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Section III
Special Topics

CAREER EDUCATION IN INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS

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The focus of this chapter is on organizing an instructional environment in which severely handicapped persons can acquire the job skills and develop the patterns of social interaction needed to function in a community setting. Although many of these individuals also exhibit behavior problems, it is possible to reduce or eliminate many of these problems by developing an appropriate instructional program which has a high level of incentive for the learner. In many cases, the expectations present at the job site and the inherent value of acquiring a useful job skill are enough to produce incentive to participate in the instructional activity and reduce incompatible behaviors. Sometimes it may be necessary to add privileges, contrived rewards, or punishers to the situation until the learner understands the requirements of the job site, but these circumstances can also be handled within the context of the instructional program. However, in cases where the individual does not need to participate in an instructional program (i.e., possesses the requisite skills to work in a community setting but is unable to do so for such reasons as chemical imbalances), an orientation other than the one presented in this chapter will be needed.

INSTITUTIONS: CONTINUING AND CHANGING NEEDS

Over the past decade, the courts have supported the principle that handicapped people have a right to live in normal environments (Soskin, 1977). Various social service agencies have responded to both the real and the perceived legal mandates by trying to establish a continuum of alternative care facilities in many communities. These facilities range from foster care to semi-independent residences. Presumably, handicapped people would leave institutions and receive the services formerly provided in them. Then, with additional training, they would eventually become participating members of a community (Horner, 1979).

It is a fact that some people move from institutions to community living situations easily and with a minimum of personal disruption. Many who have left institutions have benefited from the increased freedom that becomes possible in the community. It is also true, however, that certain people will remain in institutions for a long time to come. For one thing, alternative facilities are becoming available at a relatively slow rate, and many people who could leave institutions will remain in them because there is no place for them to go. In addition, there are three groups of people who do not move out of institutions easily: (a) those who require a great deal of intensive training in the basic skills that are necessary to function in the service delivery system currently available in communities; (b) those who require health-care services that are not generally available outside of institutional environments; and (c) those who have lived in institutions for such a long time that it has become for them the "normal" environment. Typically, the latter group is composed of older people from whom a move from the institution to the community could be extremely disruptive and personally intolerable (Coffman & Harris, 1980). Community placement for persons in any of these situations may actually result in the denial of needed services.

Because of these factors, institutions have and will continue to have a role in the service-delivery system for severely handicapped people. Moreover, institutions must move away from a medical orientation toward one that is instructional in nature. Only when institutions develop good instructional frameworks will they be able to respond to the legal mandates and truly meet the needs of both those who are preparing to leave institutions and those who will not. We believe that a career education perspective is the most useful one to hold in establishing an appropriate instructional framework.

THE INSTRUCTIONAL GOAL

The standards handed down in court decisions over the past decade are directly in line with the definitions of career education as established by a number of writers in the field, such as Brolin and Kokaska (1979) and Clark (1980). The most important principle is that severely handicapped persons have a "right to treatment." This term reflects the belief that severely handicapped individuals must have a reasonable chance to acquire, maintain, and improve their life skills, and to realize their full potential (*Wyatt* v. *Aderholt*, 1972; *Gary W.* v. *State of Louisiana*, 1976; *Halderman* v. *Pennhurst*, 1977). When viewed in their broadest application, right-to-treatment standards (e.g., *Wyatt* v. *Stickney*, 1972; *New York State Association for Retarded Citizens and Parisi* v. *Carey*, 1975) establish the instructional goal for any and all programs which an institution should provide. These standards state that:

1. All institutionalized severely handicapped persons must have an adequate instructional program that is structured according to the concept of the "least restrictive alternative."

2. Every institutionalized person's instructional program must be set forth in an Individualized Program Plan (IPP). The IPP is, in effect, a contract between the institution and the person that outlines (a) the program he can expect to receive, (b) the benefits he can expect to gain from it, and (c) the time it will take to deliver it.

The concept of the least restrictive alternative is critical, because it specifies the goal for all instructional programs in the institution. That is, a person is in the ultimate least restrictive environment when he functions independently in a community. Therefore, all institutional programs must aim at independence, and instruction must continue for an individual until he attains it.

Independence

Independence as the goal of an instructional program should pose no problems for educators. It is, after all, the aim of education for all learners. The only real problem the term presents for those working with severely handicapped people is one of definition, i.e., to what does it refer? If we do not know what it is we are trying to teach our learners to do, we will never be able to teach it. In the interest of developing good instructional programs in institutions, therefore, we offer the following definition of independence.

> *Independence is living one's life in a community without having to rely on social service agencies for assistance in making ordinary day-to-day decisions.*

This definition provides a workable framework for any instructional program. That is, anything that leads to being able to live in a community without having to rely on social service agencies (e.g., schools, workshops, welfare, group homes, etc.) belongs in the instructional program, while anything not leading to this goal does not. The goal remains the same for all institutional residents whether or not a specific individual will ever attain it. Obviously, many people are so severely handicapped that they can never become independent, but this fact does not alter the *goal* of the instructional program. It simply means that instruction can never stop for those particular individuals. Even for those who will never become independent, independence as a goal provides a clear point of reference for making crucial decisions about what to teach and when to teach it. No other goal allows us to remain as logical and consistent in the instruction of all institutional residents as does this one.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING OPTIONS

If we accept this goal, we must now consider the vocational training options open to institutional residents, both while they are in the institution and when they leave the institution to go to a community. At present, severely handicapped people are pretty much limited to

sheltered employment, partly because it is usually the only work available to them, and partly because most training given in institutions is aimed at obtaining work in sheltered workshops. Something like a dog chasing his tail, the closed nature of the relationship between the training provided and the services available almost guarantees the continuation of sheltered employment as it is currently conceived.

Current and Past Practice

Historically, sheltered workshops, wherever they are located, have focused on training clients to perform the types of work found in factories, e.g., assembly, sorting, and packing. Sheltered workshops on the grounds of institutions for severely handicapped people are not exceptional in this respect. From the perspective of establishing a progression of less restrictive alternatives leading toward independence, however, it is difficult to defend such a practice (Wehman, Hill, & Koehler, 1979). The reason is simple: Severely handicapped people who learn the skills necessary to function in sheltered workshops usually do not move to a less restrictive work placement alternative such as a factory job in the community. There are several reasons for this fact:

1. Most institutions for the severely handicapped are located in rural and semi-rural areas where few or no factories are available for community job training and placement. Therefore, those having sheltered workshops on their grounds tend to find it very difficult to obtain transitional sites in the community (Jacobs, 1978). As a result, an on-grounds workshop too often becomes a terminal placement for the residents, and instruction aimed at independence stops with their entrance into the workshop. The available places soon fill with residents, and the sheltered workshop becomes a bottleneck in the movement of residents from the institution to the community.
2. Institutions lucky enough to be located near factories have also found it difficult to establish community training and placement sites for their residents, but for other reasons. For example, if a resident seeks a job in a factory, he would most likely have to deal with the constraints established by a unionized labor force. The intensive training required for a severely handicapped person to make a transition from a workshop to a factory tends to conflict with union rules. This fact often makes severely handicapped people ineligible for hire at the factory regardless of whether or not they *could* be trained to do the work.
3. Sheltered workshops primarily provide vocational training which is rigid and rather narrow in focus. Whereas the goal of career education is to train residents to be independent, programs which focus on developing "a vocational skill" prepare them only to be "placeable" (Du Rand & Neufeldt, 1975). If that skill becomes unmarketable, the residents will become unemployable and lose whatever measure of independence they may have gained.
4. When job training is complete and competitive employment placements are made, research indicates that severely handicapped persons fail in factory work not because they are unable to do the work, but

because they are unable to perform many of the non-work skills associated with employment, e.g., following the daily rhythm of the factory and interacting with supervisors and fellow workers (Rusch, 1979). Because severely handicapped persons are deficient in social skills, community factory workers often respond unfavorably to working alongside them. Consequently, factory managers tend to be reluctant to accept them as part of their work force. Social skills are very difficult to teach in typical sheltered work situations. Generally, it is necessary to teach them on the job, and the personnel required to do the teaching are not usually available to the degree needed by severely handicapped people.

A More Promising Approach

Vocational training that concentrates on the performance of factory type work does not prepare the majority of institutional severely handicapped people for independence. Service-oriented work is a more rational approach to teaching work skills for institutionalized persons (Wehman et al., 1979). Not only does a focus on service jobs have greater potential for preparing a resident for employment within a community, but it also makes comprehensive career education programming possible. In other words, it allows an institution to structure a sequence of less restrictive alternatives both on grounds and off grounds in neighboring communities. Service work thus seems to be well suited as a vehicle for career education for severely handicapped institutionalized people. There are several reasons for this statement, all of which have to do with establishing least restrictive alternatives:

1. Any community, regardless of its size, has a variety of service jobs which can be performed by severely handicapped persons. Included among these jobs are those which involve landscaping, laundry, and janitorial work, as well as those available in small businesses, e.g., bakeries, hardware, and variety stores. Consequently, even institutions located in rural or semi-rural areas could develop many potential community work training sites for their residents.
2. Since even a small community is likely to have a number of possible job sites, it would be unnecessary for any one business to hire more than one or two residents. Such a situation avoids the possibility that certain businesses would become sheltered workshops. It is very desirable to avoid a concentration of severely handicapped people in one facility because it is easier to teach appropriate social skills when the setting is "normal."
3. The typically high turnover rate of employees normally found in the service industries makes hiring and training severely handicapped people attractive to small business owners. For example, in the laundry industry, it is not unusual to find a complete turnover of employees every six months. In contrast, research indicates that handicapped persons make both reliable and stable employees (Wehman et al., 1979).

4. There are various tax incentives available to businesses that train and/or hire handicapped individuals ("Tax Breaks," 1979). Small, service-oriented businesses may find these incentives welcome.
5. Because service businesses tend to have few employees who are either not unionized or who have weak union times, it is generally easier to get severely handicapped people into a position where they can be trained to perform the work and to follow the routines of the business. In addition, because service-oriented businesses tend to have only a few employees at each level of the work hierarchy, it is often easier for a handicapped person to be assimilated into the setting.
6. In contrast to typical factory work, a service-industry employer may be able to alter the job requirements to fit the idiosyncrasies of one employee if that employee is both competent and reliable.

Once a sheltered workshop is established and operating on the grounds of an institution, it is not unusual for new placements in the workshop to be few and far-between. The reasons are either (a) that the entry requirements exclude many residents on the basis of physical, mental, or behavioral deficits; or (b) that the limited number of available placements soon fill up because residents do not move out of the workshop. Whatever the reason, the fact is that only a very few residents ever receive job training in an on-grounds workshop. In contrast, the institution with a career education program that focuses on service-oriented work would have virtually unlimited options for training activities for almost all of its residents. The reason is that the institution itself is a service industry. Since there are many types of service work in many different categories, the number of potential job training sites would be large enough to develop a true progression of less restrictive alternatives leading to independence.

Table 1 provides a partial listing of areas in which training sites can be found within an institution. Jobs found in these areas would

TABLE 1

Potential Career Training Sites Within an Institution

Food service
Janitorial service
Hospital maintenance
Laundry
Grounds and building maintenance
Office and secretarial pool
Motor pool
School classrooms
Orthopedic therapy shop
Television and radio station
Switchboard operation
Inter-office mail delivery
Canteen
Resident on-grounds transport

allow the establishment of a continuum from most restrictive (e.g., accompanying a courier who takes messages from one part of a unit to another) to very independent (e.g., transporting goods between the community and the institution). In addition, variations in jobs can be adapted to the limitations of the residents and their readiness to be integrated into the community. For example, a program could allow one individual to work in the community while he resides at the institution, and another to live in the community while he works at the institution.

In addition to vocational skills, each job site can also be used to train many of the tangential skills required for the residents to function in the community. For example, a training site used to train a resident to make hospital beds could also be used to teach him skills associated with maintaining a clean and tidy living area. Similarly, landscaping work would also provide many opportunities to learn about outdoor safety. In addition, the sequence of environmental progressions within and beyond the boundaries of the institution would also be used to introduce an increasingly greater number of skills associated with career success, e.g., job seeking and job selection. In other words, not only would each training site provide a place to teach specific work skills, but also a variety of other skills that are required to live independently in a community. Clearly, work training in a service context allows true career education and not just work training.

STRUCTURING A CAREER EDUCATION CURRICULUM IN AN INSTITUTION

The organization of a career education program in an institution requires building a curriculum that covers the entire spectrum from resident intake to independence. Such a curriculum would have three major components: (a) description of the tasks required to live and work independently in a community; (b) listing of the skills that are prerequisite to acquiring those tasks; and (c) statement of the sequences in which the prerequisites should be taught (Dever & Knapczyk, 1979). The scope of the curriculum depends on the range of functional levels of the residents; i.e., the lower the functioning of the residents, the more extensive the curriculum must be.

The progression of training sites must parallel the sequence of tasks in the curriculum, and progress from "most restrictive" to "least restrictive." The final step in the curriculum would be the severing of all ties to social service agencies. Each site in the sequence must have a defined set of entry and exit criteria. Before a resident could begin training at a site he would have to meet the entry requirements for that site. As soon as he acquired the skills that are specified as exit requirements, he would move to a less restrictive training site.

Clearly, such a progression has many advantages. For one thing, it provides a set of objective criteria for moving a resident from one training site to another. Such criteria help remove ambiguity from instruction because the professional staff can direct their training to

meet criteria for moving residents from one site to another. In addition, since prestige would accrue to the movement to higher-level sites, the incentive value of being able to move from one site to another will be very great for most residents. Consequently, the need to add external rewards to the instruction should be less than it is with other curriculum structures.

The big problem for the institution is to create such a structure. Just how does an institution go about building such a curriculum? The first step is to make an exhaustive list of the jobs in the institution that are currently being performed by nonprofessional and maintenance staff. The purpose of developing this list is to identify potential training sites around which to plan a curriculum and establish a progression of less restrictive environments for its implementation. Thus, the list would contain all the jobs found in the various parts of the institution, e.g., the motor pool, building and grounds, food service, resident care, housekeeping, administrative offices. Table 2 lists possible jobs which might be found in the food service, hospital, building and grounds, and laundry areas.

Once all the jobs in the institution are listed, the next step is to perform a content analysis of each job at each site. This analysis is simply a description of how the job is performed. The written statement should also include all additional skills that may be required for successful job performance. For example, certain jobs may have steps that require the worker to maintain specific standards of cleanliness or have enough strength to carry objects from one location to another. Such tangential requirements must not be overlooked in the content analysis because, in some instances, they may require more intensive training than the work itself.

The third step is to specify the skills that are prerequisite to learning the job, i.e., the skills the learner must be able to exhibit *before* efficient instruction in the job can begin. For example, in making a hospital bed, sterile procedure requires the learner to wash his hands after he has disposed of the dirty linens and before he begins to make the bed with clean linen. The staff may think that teaching "handwashing" as part of "bedmaking" would use up an inordinate amount of instructional time. If so, "handwashing" would be considered a prerequisite to "bedmaking." Therefore, training a resident to make a hospital bed would not begin until instruction in handwashing is successfuly completed.

The next step is to decide which prerequisites for job training should be taught at the job site and which constitutes the entry criteria for that site. In the example of making a hospital bed, the task of handwashing could be established either as a training task for the hospital site, or as an entry requirement for beginning work in that area. The decision would be based upon many factors including, among others, the potential incentive value for learning the task on the site; the complexity of the task; the number of residents who would need to learn the task; and the personnel on the site who would be available for training. The

TABLE 2

Example of Job Specifications in Training Sites

Area	Jobs
Food Service	Preparing food Serving food Sorting trays and silverware Washing dishes Filling condiment servers Setting out milk, silverware, trays Folding napkins Sweeping and mopping eating area Washing tables Stocking food larder
Hospital	Changing linens Sorting and stacking laundry Maintaining inventory Cleaning bed pans Cleaning hospital area
Laundry	Picking up laundry Sorting dirty laundry Filling washing machine Emptying washing machine Folding and stacking clean laundry Ironing linens and uniforms Delivering clean and dirty laundry
Grounds & Building Maintenance	Cutting grass Preparing flower beds Planting Pruning Cultivating Window washing Painting Sweeping walks Clearing snow

tasks taught at each site and any additional skills which could naturally be taught on the site would then become exit criteria; once a learner acquires the skills taught at one site, he become eligible to move to the next least restrictive site.

Once the lists of entry and exit criteria for each training site are established, they must be arranged in sequence from most to least restrictive. The greater the number of entry criteria, the less restrictive the site. When the sequence is complete, it will allow the development of a plan for moving residents from one site to another. It also makes possible the development of an assessment device for identifying which residents are eligible for each of the sites. It does so by identifying which tasks in the curriculum the resident can perform. Note that, in these terms, the assessment instrument which emerges is not simply a comparative instrument that relies on age-norms, but an instructional assessment device that tells us where a resident should be placed and what his instruction should be.

OVERCOMING ADMINISTRATIVE BARRIERS

There are many barriers which prevent most institutions from developing a career education program such as the one outlined in the previous pages. Whether real or perceived, these barriers and the issues which relate to them must be resolved before an effective career education program can be made operational. We call them "administrative barriers" because they affect the organization and implementation of instruction, even though they do not relate to any real limitations of either the residents or the institution.

Some barriers result from the lack of funds and resources allocated to the institution. Such problems are complex but others may be even more complicated. For example, administrative barriers can arise from attempts to make the institution run at the convenience of the employees instead of trying to meet the programming needs of the residents. Work schedules that are designed to prevent conflicts between staff rather than concentrate personnel in time periods amenable to intensive instruction provide one good example of this problem. Others arise from lack of staff training or from misperceptions concerning the legal requirements involved in developing programs for severely handicapped persons, and still other barriers come from different sources. Regardless of the source, the effect of barriers such as these is to prevent the instruction of the residents. These barriers must be removed *by the staff* of the institution if instruction toward independence is to be a reality. The following strategies appear useful in facilitating good instruction:

1. *Develop an instructional orientation.* Many institutions for the severely handicapped limit their focus to custodial care. They exist primarily to care for the physical needs of the residents and to provide a protective environment in which the residents cannot be injured, mistreated, or exploited by society. The result is that

the residents are not only sheltered from all forms of risk, but also from almost all instruction as well. Although many severely handicapped persons require extensive physical care and must be protected to a greater extent than nonhandicapped persons, protection cannot replace instruction. Rather, the residents must be taught to handle risks so that they are themselves capable of avoiding injury and exploitation. In a career education context, things like "taking risks" and "making decisions for oneself" must be taught because they are critical skills required for independence. Such an orientation is required if the institution is to meet its obligations under the right-to-treatment precedents.

A focus on instruction also requires the staff of the institution to view residents as being capable of learning skills which will allow them to progress toward independence (Dever & Knapczyk, 1979). This view must be reflected in the IPP's for each resident, something not possible until all stated objectives in an IPP are related to a clearly defined goal for the resident. Until a comprehensive and systematic curriculum becomes a reality, IPP's will continue to focus on isolated splinter-skills, and be primarily limited to self-help, communication, and motor skills.

2. *Develop a comprehensive staff training program.* Closely related to the need for a focus on instruction is the need to develop an inservice training program for both the professional and paraprofessional staff. This program should concentrate on upgrading the existing skills of the professional staff to include instructional competencies. For example, before a comprehensive instructional program can be fully implemented in an institution, the professional staff must be able to develop a complete curriculum for the residents (Knapczyk & Dever, 1979). Typically, the staff of most institutions is neither trained to develop curriculum, nor to organize environments to facilitate instruction.

   Because the paraprofessional staff is made up of those persons who are most likely to deliver the actual instruction, it is necessary to train them how to teach. Although paraprofessionals often receive intensive training in the physical aspects of working with severely handicapped persons, they are seldom taught how to provide instruction. Such an absence of training can only work against effective instruction.

3. *Clarify legal statutes and precedents.* Institution staffs are often confused about the legal precedents that govern work training in an institutional setting. On the one hand, the peonage laws clearly state that residents must be paid to perform any work that involves the operation of the institution and/or the care of residents. But since institutions have very limited funds to support resident payroll programs, only a small percentage of their residents are ever trained to do any service type work. On the other hand, the right-to-treatment standards clearly state that hospitals must provide an instructional program for each resident that focuses on the training of skills

required to function independently in a community. We believe that many opportunities for career training will be found among those jobs that involve the operation of the institution and the care of its residents. This argument creates a dilemma. There is an apparent conflict between the notions of "peonage" and "right to adequate treatment" that has yet to be resolved by the courts. Thus, it is necessary for the institutions in each state to examine existing laws and statutes that govern work training of institutional residents and to develop a policy regarding such training. It is also probable that state institutions may have to assume an assertive role in influencing legislators to agree to the use of institution work for career education.

4. *Establish program funding.* Lack of funds is one of the major reasons usually cited for the lack of innovative and comprehensive programs within institutions. Consequently, goes the argument, the responsibilities of many of the staff far exceed those they can reasonably assume by virtue of their training. While it is evident that state legislatures have recently been very conservative in funding state institutions, it is also apparent that many institutions have not been as aggressive as they must be in seeking funds from other than normal state funding sources, such as federal funds, private foundation grants, and local business contracts. For example, local small businesses may be willing to assume a share of the costs incurred in job training *if,* in return, they obtain a source of reliable and stable employees. In addition, state funding guidelines for institutions need to be liberalized to encourage cooperative programs between community agencies and the institution and to support innovative community programs developed by the institution.

5. *Develop better public relations.* It is apparent that society in general tends of view institutions as being custodial environments for people who cannot or will not function in the community. Although recently there has been some change in this perception, it has been neither great nor consistent. As the higher functioning residents become integrated into community placements, institutional populations will tend toward the lower end of the scale. It will become increasingly difficult for institutions to convince local communities to be flexible in providing for the therapeutic and instructional needs of lower-functioning persons. This fact will probably strengthen the public perception, which in turn could reduce the incentive for the professional and nonprofessional staff to think in terms of instruction. The remaining residents will be viewed as having little chance of ever obtaining a community placement, so why try? To prevent such a problem, institutions will have to educate and communicate to the public that they are, in fact, training facilities whose purpose is twofold: (a) to prepare residents for integration into the community; and (b) to assist communities in the integration of low-functioning persons. In order for such a campaign to be successful, institutions will be forced to assume a more active role as community support and resource agencies. For example, institutions might consider assuming

the role of training personnel from community agencies to learn to meet the needs of severely handicapped persons.

CONCLUSION

The development of career education programs for severely handicapped institutionalized residents follows directly from the standards set forth in recent litigation. The ideas presented in this chapter can provide a new perspective for those working in institutions, especially those trying to program for residents who will not move easily and quickly into community placements. In considering career education for this population, it is apparent that the more traditional approaches to vocational training will not easily adapt to the needs they demonstrate. On the one hand, institutions will find that gearing their programs toward sheltered employment is too restrictive an approach to developing a complete career training program. On the other hand, the physical and learning characteristics of many severely handicapped persons require a degree of curriculum planning not previously encountered by vocational educators. Consequently, a more comprehensive approach to career education is required by those working with institutionalized residents.

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CAREER EDUCATION FROM A COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE

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Career education has been described as "the process of living not limited to the process of making a living" (Clark, 1979). This all-encompassing definition immediately draws our attention to the basic issue of the quality of life of persons with severe behavior disorders. What types of programs and services need to be developed to ensure that such persons will have access to a quality of life and a purpose in life which are worthy of all human beings?

Career education may be seen not only as the process of living, but more specifically as those programs, services, and supports necessary to enable the behaviorally disordered individual to remain, or become as integrated as possible, in family, home, and community life. For the severely involved population, it is necessary to look beyond curriculum content and instructional processes to broader programmatic structures and environments across the person's lifespan, since these are necessary prerequisites to family and community integration. The following case provides a good example of the need for a comprehensive definition of career education for behaviorally disordered persons.

> David is a 16-year-old mentally retarded/emotionally disturbed adolescent. He attended public school until the age of 12. At that time he became a "behavior problem," hitting, kicking, and biting at a high frequency at home and at school. He was placed in a state institution, where he spent the majority of his next three years in leather restraints. At the age of 15 he was placed in an intensive community-based developmental and provocational program. His severe behavioral problems decreased while he simultaneously acquired an array of prevocational skills. David will continue to grow and develop only if he is ensured a continuum of community-based programs and services across his lifespan. Teaching content is important. However, without community-based alternatives such as a group home and an intensive,

developmental day program, he will quickly revert to his previous status as a severe behavioral problem--replete with a repressive environment that focuses on physical containment.

For persons with severe behavior disorders, the issue is not just what curriculum to use, but rather what is the entire range of programs and services necessary to return or maintain the person in the mainstream of community life.

PERSONS WITH SEVERE BEHAVIORAL DISORDERS

Children and adults labeled as severely behaviorally disordered tend to represent the least served and most neglected of all developmentally disabled persons. Communities generally do not offer programs or services for persons with atypical or primitive behaviors (Menolascino, 1972) or for those with severe social impairments (Wing & Gould, 1979). Abandonment and segregation is the typical response of communities when confronted with this population. All too often, they are sent away from family and community to an institutional setting.

In segregated settings there can be no meaningful career education. Settings removed from the mainstream of community and family life automatically negate purposefulness in living. The general condition of children and adults with severe behavioral disorders remains dependent upon the firm establishment of a new global definition of their values as human beings. Only then can we merge and apply progressive ideologies such as the principle of normalization and the developmental model with currently available advanced and appropriate technology designed to meet basic human needs.

A recent analysis of institutionalized persons in Nebraska (Menolascino & McGee, 1980) pointed out two classes of disabled persons which had not yet accrued the benefits of advanced ideological and technological breakthroughs: developmentally disabled persons with complex medical needs and persons with severe behavioral disorders. Of all persons with special needs, these are the last and the least served. Class action lawsuits such as *Halderman* v. *Pennhurst* (1977) testify to this unfortunate reality. Braddock (1977) reported that this population is systematically subjected to chemical and physical restraint, impersonal and dehumanizing programs, and ill-trained and often incompetent staff.

A recent survey of the basic human needs of individuals with severe behavioral disorders in Nebraska (McGee, 1979) found that:

- Both parents and professionals were perplexed when confronted with a person with severe behavioral and communication needs. Nebraska presents a good illustration of this perplexity. Over the last 11 years (1968-1979) Nebraska has been a leader in the development of family-based and community-based services for multiply involved, severely disabled children and adults. It

has developed a model system of both mental retardation and mental health services. In Nebraska, most severely retarded children and adults live within their family and community. Medically fragile persons live in their communities in both urban and rural areas. Services have been mobilized for both children and adults regardless of the severity of the disability. Yet, such success has not often been achieved for those persons with severe behavioral disorders.

- There was a general lack of understanding about this unserved population. This is clearly a new frontier for the development of family-based and community-based services. In fact, the labels associated with behavioral disorders appear to be used as a reason *not* to provide services. Experience indicates that for many persons, "behavioral disorders" is the last-ditch label applied. This label often equates with dire prognostic statements such as "Keep your child at home and do the best you can to keep him happy and out of trouble," or "You should send your child away...." A major implication of this reality is that educating both parents and professionals is a fundamental necessity for attainment of adequate and appropriate services.

- The entire issue of what to do with persons who exhibit violent behaviors was viewed as critical in the survey. Parents and professionals stated that when they were faced with violent behaviors displayed by a person with little or no coherent communication skills, the problem became complex and insurmountable without the mobilization of programs and services. Although the technology exists to train parents and professionals in behavior management, too few people have these skills.

- Most services that families and professionals saw as basic and necessary for severely behavior disordered persons and their families were low-cost and high-benefit in nature (e.g., parent training, teacher training, respite services, ongoing in-home support services, and community-based, residential alternatives).

The Nebraska survey ironically returns our attention to the family and community. It is in the context of family and community life that persons with severe behavior disorders will best have their needs met.

CAREER EDUCATION—A COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH

Community based programs do exist that allow persons with severe behavior disorders to main in the mainstream of our communities and to be valued as full human beings capable of contributing to their society. These islands of excellence are always based on the foundation of an ideological posture supportive of the principle of normalization and the developmental model, as well as the creative adaptation of appropriate technology. Two community-based programs for mentally retarded persons,

including those with severe behavioral disorders, are the Eastern Nebraska Community Office of Retardation and the Macomb-Oakland Regional Center in Michigan. They are developing the types of programs, services, and supports which such persons need in order to live in the mainstream of community life (Biklen, 1979).

For the most severely behaviorally involved children and adolescents, career education must encompass much more than the classroom setting and curriculum approaches. Programs and services must be able to respond to the need for community-based systems of service which include residential alternatives, vocational training alternatives, and mainstreamed educational alternatives. For many persons, these alternatives will have to be ensured across the person's lifespan. Movement into more independent lifestyles will occur, but community-based support must always be available.

Current career education thrusts have identified the crucial ingredients needed in community-based systems of services. For example, McGee (1979) reviewed programs and services serving children and adults with severe behavior disorders and found several model programs. Each of them displayed the following characteristics:

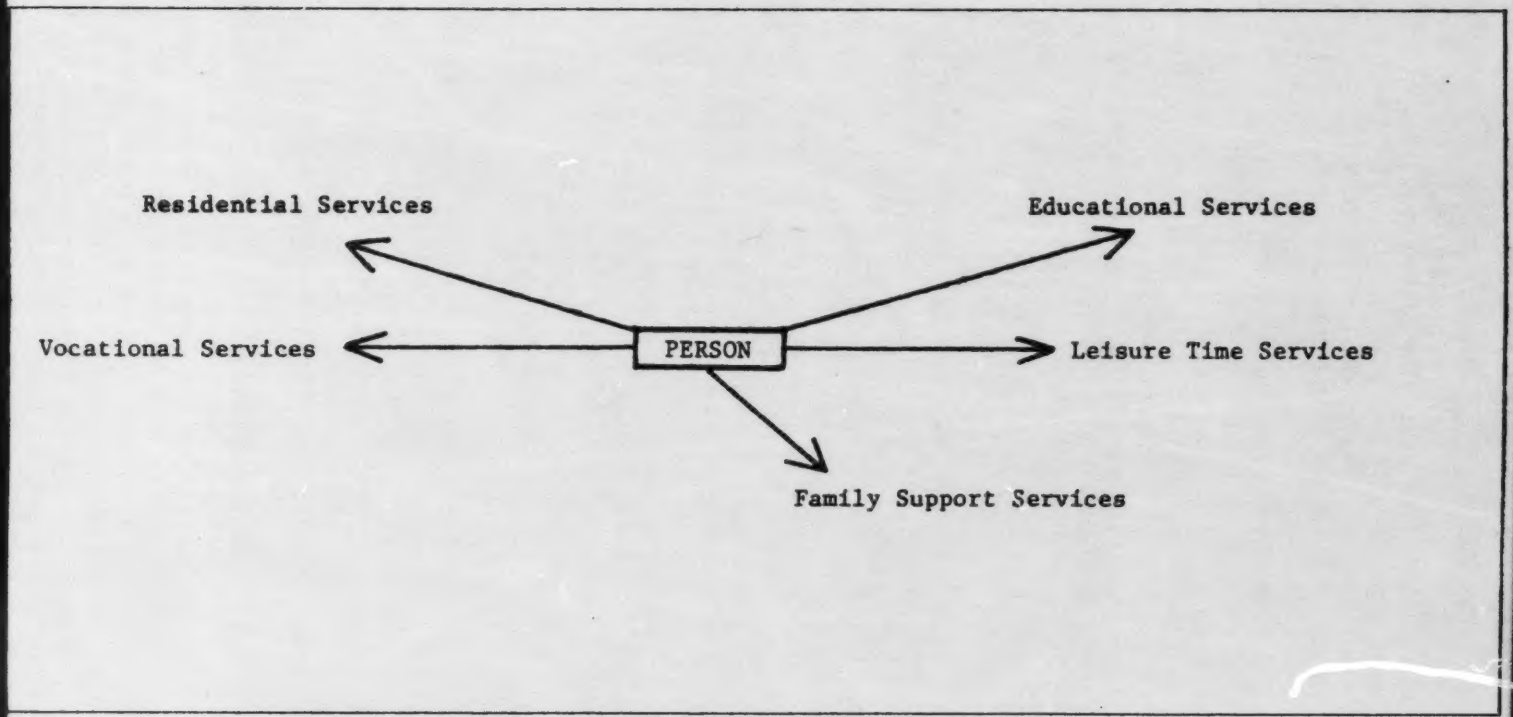
1. The flexibility of high staff-to-client ratios.
2. The structuring of community-based residential services with no more than four to six persons in any given setting.
3. The adaptation and application of advanced behavioral technology to support integration into community settings.
4. Separation of living, educational, vocational, and leisure functions so that the person with severe behavior disorders is enabled to participate in the totality of community life with whatever support might be necessary.
5. Paraprofessional staff competent in the areas of both ideology and appropriate technology.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Career education must be understood within a comprehensive structural, environmental, and programmatic context. Clark's (1979) "process of living" definition must be translated into the types of programs and services necessary to support behaviorally disordered persons within the community. Figure 1 outlines how this might look functionally. Each of these services will vary in degree and intensity, depending on the need for support and intervention at different times during the individual's life. Community policy must focus on translating the basic human needs of disabled persons into programs and services which embody these programmatic and environmental parameters, while seeking out extensions and alternations which will permit further flexibility and individualization of adult education efforts.

FIGURE 1

Career Education from an Environmental Perspective



Residential Services

A continuum of available residential alternatives in the community is necessary to meet the changing needs of individuals with severe behavior disorders. For example, an adolescent with behavior problems may be able to live at home with some support; however, occasions may arise when a violent outburst demands a temporary, crisis alternative placement. Likewise, as the adolescent grows into adulthood, he or she will require a residential alternative outside the family. Such alternatives should be small, developmentally oriented, socially supportive, and community based in physical location. The most severely behaviorally disordered children or adults may require highly structured and individualized settings outside the family across their lifespan. To varying degrees, these alternatives can still be conducive to community participation and integration, depending on the person's unique needs.

Educational Alternatives

Educational goals for persons with severe behavior disorders should be the acquisition of culturally appropriate skills and behaviors that will enhance integration into community and family life, both in the present and in the future. There is a need for competent staff to support the efforts of regular class teachers. The functional problem is no longer whether children with behavior disorders have a right to free, public education along with all other children. The question today is how can such classrooms be managed? Key variables include (a) the scope and focus of the curriculum (with a strong emphasis on modern technologies and the acquisition of functional skills); (b) degree of individualization; (c) competency of teachers and teacher aides (with ongoing competency based approaches for the assessment of skills); (d) backup and support provided to the classroom teacher; and (e) continuing dialogue and involvement with the family.

Vocational Services

The transition from adolescence to adulthood is often difficult for the person with severe behavior disorders. Too often, this transition is met with a programmatic void. What happens when a young adult with these special needs has nothing to do, nowhere to go? Behaviors worsen. Family stresses mount. Crisis events precipitate mandatory changes, and institutionalization often occurs in response to the acute crisis.

The two basic programmatic cornerstones for the young adult with severe behavior disorders are vocational training and out-of-the-home residential alternatives within the community. We must especially focus on what makes a person valued both by himself and by others. Some degree of active participation in community life is a major basis for self-esteem, and for the handicapped adult this most often translates into an occupation. Programmatic options range from sheltered, productive work or self-enhancing activities to competitive employment.

Applied research during the last decade clearly indicates that the use of appropriate technology--both behavioral and engineering--enables persons with the most severe behavioral and mental disorders to acquire complex skills suitable for the world of work (Bellamy, Inman, & Yeates, 1978; Bellamy, Wilson, Adler, & Clarke, 1980; Gold, 1973). Such skills should be taught from early school years onward, so that by the time a student graduates he or she will have acquired functional skills that can be applied in the adult world. To what degree the adult will then be integrated into and participate in the community will primarily be a function of the range of residential and vocational alternatives available.

Because each handicapped individual is unique, not all persons with severe behavior disorders will require the same degree and intensity of services. Communities must ensure an array of programs, services, and support to the total population so that when lesser or greater degrees of structure and support are required, they will be available. Without a comprehensive range of services, earlier gains may be lost when programmatic voids are encountered.

In the future, career education will move rapidly away from curricular approaches for the moderately involved toward curricular approaches focusing on the total array of supports needed to maintain and support persons with severe and multiple disabilities in the community. Curricula will move from those designed for the moderately involved to those that address the needs of the severely behaviorally disordered. Teaching will move from the classroom to those places where functional skills will be used. Behavioral and engineering technology will be translated into appropriate technology able to be used by classroom teachers, line staff, and parents. Significant changes will be made in the approach taken by researchers, service providers, and advocates as the right is established for those with the most severe disorders to live and grow in community life. Communities will be the focus for the mobilization of those programs and services necessary to support or maintain the person with severe behavioral disorders in the mainstream of community life.

MODERN PROGRAM DESIGN FEATURES

Following from these general programmatic, structural, and environmental issues is a series of individualized intervention strategies. Programs and services--whether at home, school, or work--demand a structure which allows for a day-to-day routine of highly structured, intensive, developmental programs. Such a structure necessitates (a) total individualized programming; (b) a mini-module approach to scheduling; (c) trained staff with adequate psychological and medical backup services; and (d) the coordination of residential and educational/vocational programs. Each of these program design features will now be addressed.

Total Individualized Programming

A curriculum approach should be established which encompasses the total

range of developmental needs. It is thus important to identify the major areas of learning in which curriculum can be developed for children and adolescents with severe behavior disorders. Programs typically adapt one or many curriculum approaches from among those available to meet their unique needs. The curriculum should consist of at least the following major functional developmental areas: language and communications development, self-help skills, functional cognitive skills, community access skills, prevocational skills, interpersonal skills, and affective behaviors.

Using such a list of broad developmental areas, the curriculum is then broken down into a series of concrete, measurable steps through task analysis. The task analysis approach (Bellamy, Horner, & Inman, 1979) defines a series of precise teaching/training pinpoints applicable to the person served. At any point in these learning ladders or analyzed tasks, there is a series of potential "behavioral" pinpoints which are concrete, measurable, and allow each child or adult to be involved in any number of precise behavioral programs.

The general programming strategy is to identify a number of these for each person, which are then translated into developmental, growth-oriented programs. By taking this approach, educational personnel are generally able to simply track each child's inappropriate behaviors. While this tracking occurs, the child is simultaneously acquiring a number of appropriate behaviors. This then enables the person to begin to develop a repertoire of skills and an understanding of positive reinforcement. Thus, the individual moves from a highly unstructured, non-reinforcing environment to a highly structured, positively reinforcing environment. Initially, each person will participate in several such precise behavioral programs per day.

Mini-Module Approach to Scheduling

Because it is so important to enable growth and development in functional skills that are adaptive to community living, it is useful to develop an analysis of each person's normal day. For the more severely socially impaired, this results in a modularized scheduling broken into 10 to 20-minute time segments from wakeup until bedtime. Each of these modules is then analyzed from the perspective of which behavioral pinpoints within the module would be beneficial to increase the skills of the particular individual. Next, identified behavioral pinpoints are prioritized within each time module and translated into programs. Each person's day is then modularized into a series of "likes" and "dislikes."

Through this modularized scheduling, a series of individualized behavioral plans emerges. No one pinpoint may appear to be significant in and of itself. However, in this multiple programming approach, the pinpoints add up to major, intensive developmental change. Outside of violent behavior problems, such an approach lends itself to focusing on several individualized developmental pinpoints each day. Each of these is an accelerating, positive behavioral program. This enables educational personnel to simply track the socially inappropriate behaviors because the

person not only begins to become competent in the selected behaviors, but is also learning appropriate basic communication skills. The large majority of the inappropriate behaviors in this population are often an expression of feelings on the part of the clients, given their initial inability to communicate in "appropriate" ways. Thus, simply by tracking such behaviors, without major intervention, the end result will be a deceleration of negative behaviors across time.

Staffing

The initial phase of this approach necessitates an intense, programmatic structure coupled with 1:1 staffing. Special focus might be given to (a) the identification of appropriate reinforcers; (b) the establishment of a programmatic structure which involves the child in multiple-developmental programs; (c) the acquisition of functional skills; and (d) the rapid integration of each child into group activities. Educational personnel must prossess certain prerequisite skills, including behavior management, environmental control (such as multiple scheduling, stimulus control, data collection, etc.), and multiple, individualized program planning.

Specific Programmatic Structure

Programming opportunities will occur from the time a person awakes until he or she goes to bed. Three steps should be taken to ensure maximal programming:

1. Educational personnel sue a scheduling sheet to outline the normal flow of expected behaviors inherent in the typical day.
2. An activity preference sheet outlining each person's likes and dislikes enables educational personnel to create a normalized flow of the day. Within this day, each module is organized in as intrinsically reinforcing a manner as possible.
3. An individualized program planning sheet specifies long- and short-range objectives, individualized program plans, and data collection.

Day and Residential Services

The application of this approach to group living and work situations necessitates: (a) flexibility for 1:1 staffing when initial acquisition of skills occurs for an individual; (b) staff training in the basic principles of behavior management; (c) the implementation of multiple, developmental programming; and (d) the availability of psychiatric backup. At the onset of placement in a residential alternative such as a group home, a 1:1 staff-to-client ratio is recommended. This will enable staff to initially focus on multiple foundation programs in such areas as basic communication skills (attending to task, following instructions, etc.), self-care skills such as dressing, grooming, and housekeeping, and leisure time skills. In the natural or alternative residence, each person will be involved in programs in the early morning and evening

hours during the week. These programs are then coordinated with the school or vocational program, and the total program is designed to integrate the handicapped person into community living as fully as possible.

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